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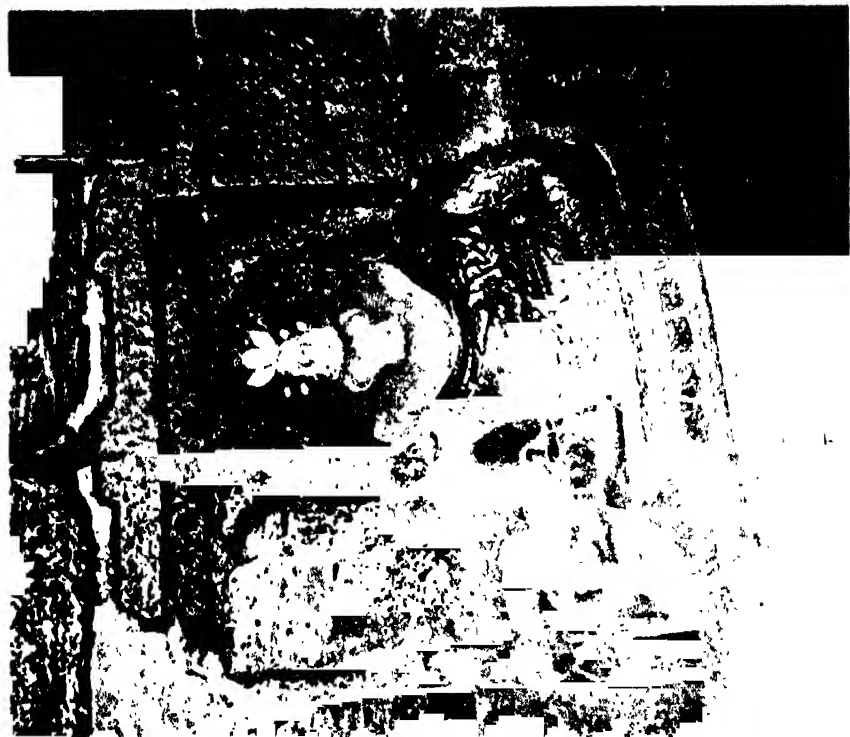


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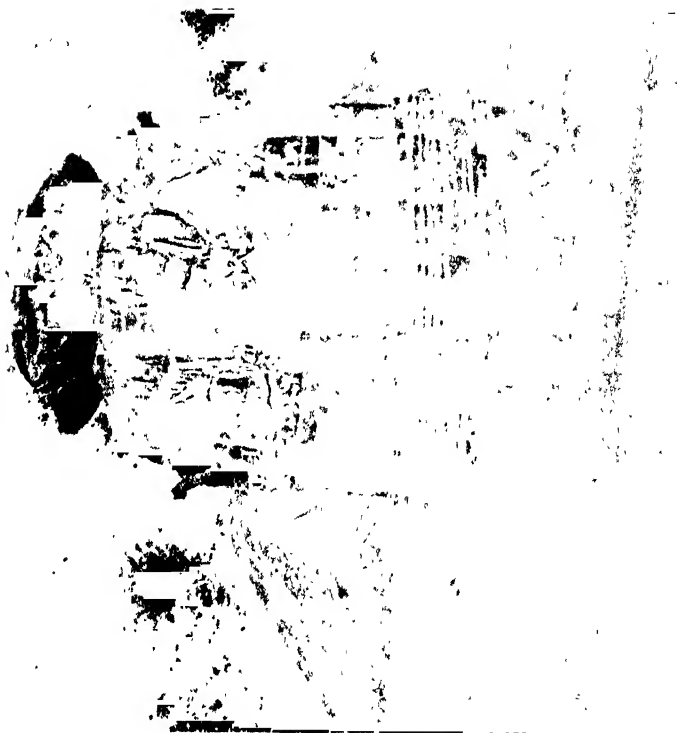
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No. 1

## A temple of the Buddhist God Mahākāla

Mahākāla is one of the most fierce deities in the Vajrayāna pantheon. In the *Sādhanamālā* as many as eight *sādhana*s are devoted to his worship, four out of which describe the two-armed variety of the deity, the *dhyāna* being as follows:

*Śrī Mahākāla-bhaṭṭārakaṁ dvi-bhujam = eka-mukhaṁ kṛṣṇa-varṇaṁ tri-nayanaṁ mahā juḷaṁ karttri-kapāla-dhāri-dakṣiṇa-vāma-bhujam muṇḍa-māl-ālaṅkṛit-orddhva-piṅgala-keś-opari pañca-kapāla-dharaṁ daṁṣṭrā-bhīma-bhayāṇakam bhujāṅg-ābharaṇa-yajñ-opavītam kharuva-rūpaṁ sravad-rudhira-mukham = ātmānaṁ jhaṭiti niṣpādyā<sup>1</sup>...*

(The worshipper) quickly transforming himself as the illustrious lord Mahākāla, who has two arms, one face, a black complexion and three eyes, who is brilliantly blazing, whose right and left hands (respectively) hold a chopper and a skull-cup, who bears five skulls on his tawny hairs which rise upwards and are adorned with a garland of heads,<sup>2</sup> who is fierce with his terrible fangs, whose *yajñopavīta* has the ornaments of snakes, who has a dwarfish body and from whose mouth trickles forth blood...

When four-armed, the deity carries either a sword and a *khatvāṅga* or a *daṇḍa* and a *triśūla* besides the usual *kartri* and

1 B. Bhattacharyya, *Sādhanamālā*, vol. II (Baroda, 1928), p. 585.

2 This is the literal translation, but the intended meaning will be 'who is decorated with a garland of heads and who has on his rising tawny hairs five skulls'.

*kapāla*. The attributes in the hands in the six-armed variety are *kartri*, rosary, *ḍamaru*, *kapāla*, *śūla* and *vajrapāśa*. When the deity is conceived as sixteen-armed, he is eight-headed and four-legged with his Śakti in his embrace, the attributes in his hands being *kartri*, *vajra*, elephant-hide, *mudgara*, *triśūla*, sword, the staff of Yama, *kapāla*, bell, goad, white chowrie, *ḍamaru* and human head.<sup>3</sup>

Whether one-headed with two, four or six arms or eight-headed with sixteen arms, the god is always meditated in the most terrific form conceivable—with a dwarfish body, terrible fangs, blood trickling forth from his mouth, hairs rising upwards, snake-ornaments and the *sarpa-yajñopavīta*. His functions are equally awe-inspiring. The *sādhana*s give details of the procedure of his worship in the Tantric rite of the *māraṇa* (destruction). He is invoked for tearing off the flesh and drinking the blood of an infidel who is adversely disposed to the *ācāryas*, is hostile to the Three Jewels and kills many living beings. He feasts on human flesh.

*Ācāryye yaḥ sadā dveṣi kupito Ratnatraye'pi yaḥ |*  
*Aneka-sattva-vidhvaṁsī Mahākālena khādyate ||*  
*Chedayet aṅga-māṁsāni pived-rudhira-dhārayā |*  
*Śirasi viniviṣṭo'sau tīla-mātraṁ tu karttayet ||*

The concept of this Vajrayāna deity (he is invoked as Vajra-Mahākāla in some *sādhana*s) was no doubt based on the terrific aspect of Śiva, as attested by the name and the attributes.

Mahākāla is the tutelary god of Mongolia.<sup>4</sup> His images are very common in Nepal, where he is sometimes represented by his head only.<sup>5</sup> In India, however, his images are rarely to

3 Bengal Asiatic Society's MS. No. Ga 8059, folios 335 and 336, describe eight-armed and twelve-armed varieties of this form. cf. R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture* (Delhi, 1933), p. 93, fn. 4 & 5.

4 A. Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (Oxford, 1928), p. 161.

5 B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Oxford University Press, 1924) p. 120.

be met with: in fact with the solitary exception of the image described here, I have not come across any representation of this deity.

The image in question is enshrined in a badly-preserved temple on the top of the Ratnagiri hill (District Cuttack), well-known for its Buddhist relics.<sup>6</sup> The temple is a living shrine, the deity, known both as Mahākāla and Mahākālī, being taken as a Hindu divinity. The hereditary priests living in the village worship it both with Vaiṣṇava and Śākta *mantras*. Except in the *bhoga-mantra* he is nowhere invoked as Mahākāla.

The image (2'4" high) of stone,<sup>7</sup> fixed on the back wall of the temple facing west, is a two-armed pot-bellied dwarfish figure wearing *sarpa-aṅgadas*, *sarpa-yajñopavīta*, *valaya*, necklace and large ear-studs. His coiled hairs rise upwards like flames. His face is now covered with a thick layer of vermilion.<sup>8</sup> He holds in his left hand a *kapāla* and in his right a *kartri*. The image corresponds in almost all respects to the textual description of the two-armed variety of the deity as cited above.

As only a few Buddhist temples have survived today, the description of the temple itself will not be redundant. It consists of a *deul* (sanctum) made of khondolite and sandstone, and a *jagamohana* (porch) built mostly of bricks with a sprinkling of stones, the latter limited to the floor, doorway and pillars. The upper part of the *jagamohana* with the thatched roof is a modern restoration.

The *deul* (28 ft. high up to the top of the *khapuri*), *pañca-ratha* on plan, is of the usual *rekha* type. Its vertical body below the curvilinear spire is divided into five parts. The lowest portion, the *pābhāga*, consists of three plain mouldings, *khurā*,

6 R. P. Chandra, *Exploration in Orissa*. Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind. No. 44 (Calcutta 1930), pp. 12-13.

7 The nature of the stone which is now blackened by oil, cannot be exactly determined. It may be khondolite, which is locally available.

8 No amount of persuasion could make the priests agree to its removal. According to them the face is chiselled out.



*kumbha* and *vasanta*. The *jāṅgha* is divided into two (*tala* and *upar*) by a set of three mouldings clasped by a vertical band, *bandhana*, the central moulding of the latter being relieved at intervals with a roundel containing a floral motif. Both the *jāṅghas* are plain. The central projections of the south, north and east sides have each a small niche, now vacant, above which acting as a *chajja* is a *khurā*-shaped moulding. The latter is the lowermost of the three mouldings on the central projection of the upper *jāṅgha*, the central being *koni*. The *baraṇḍa*, from the top which the spire starts, consists of five mouldings—*khurā*, *pheni*, *noli*, *paṭā* and *vasanta*, the last broader than the rest. The *noli* is relieved at intervals with a roundel containing a rosette. Immediately above the *baraṇḍa* is a row of lotus-petals, one on each segment of the spire. The latter is plain except for a rampant lion, with open mouth, resting on a plain rectangular block. The lion on the front face is at a higher level than its smaller counterparts on other three sides. Its rumps are relieved with a roundel containing a rosette. The central projection of the front side of the spire is distinguished for the representation of a small *pañca-ratha* temple below the lion. The crowning members consists of a *beki*, an enormous *amlā* and a flattish bell-shaped member called *khapuri*. The pinnacle above the last is made of two parts, the upper one with a central lid-like depression inside covering the lower one is shaped like a *stūpa* and has a central perforation for the insertion of a *chatra* (umbrella) or a banner.

The lowest ceiling of the sanctum is formed of one (two?) slab supported by an iron beam at the centre and rests on seven corbels. There is a corbelled niche above the doorway. The door-jambs, lintel and the architrave are all plain, the last two supported by an iron beam at the centre. The temple was originally plastered, as patches of plaster can still be seen sticking to it. The masonry is dry, the stone being kept in position by their weight and balance aided by iron cramps and dowels.

Inside the *jagamohana*, at each of its four corners, is a round, tapering khondolite pillar, made in six segments. The base is

square, while the capital is *pheni*-shaped with a cable-moulding below. The shaft is relieved at intervals with niches containing Buddha, seated in *varada* and *bhusparśa-mudrā*, Tārā, seated in *lalitāsana* holding the stalk of a blue lotus in her left hand, right being in *varada*, Vajrasattva seated cross-legged carrying in his right hand a *vajra* against his breast and a *ghaṇṭā* in his left, Āryasarasvatī (?), seated in *vajra-paryāṅkāśana* holding in her left hand the stalk of a blue lotus on which rests a manuscript, her right hand being in *varada*, a four-armed Bodhisattva seated in *lalitāsana* with his right foot resting on a peacock, one of his left hands holding the stalk of a full-blown lotus, the upper right carrying a rosary and the lower right being in *varada*, etc. The workmanship of the figures is not of high order.

On each of the north and south sides of the *jagamohana* are a corbelled niche. One of the stones of the left jamb of the passage leading to the door of the shrine is relieved with two amorous couples.

In the absence of any inscription or other datable objects it is very difficult to date the temple with exactitude. It does not however, appear to be later than the twelfth century but may be even somewhat earlier. It is worth noting that in spite of its Buddhist affiliation it is architecturally identical with the Brahmanical temples of Orissa: in fact, but for the enshrined deity, the crowning member (which in this case seems to have been a *stūpa*) and the Buddhist figures on the pillars in the *jagamohana*, there is nothing to distinguish it from a typical Brahmanical temple of the Kalinga order.<sup>9</sup>

DEBALA MITRA

9 The photographs published here are the copyright of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India,

## The R̥gvedic Principles of Criticism

1. The R̥gveda affords a fruitful field of aesthetic investigation. The theories can be reconstructed from what has been left in the poetic utterances of the seers. One might contend that the literary or aesthetic interpretation of R̥gveda cannot be taken seriously since it has not been vouchsafed to us by Indian tradition which has been zealously guarding the Vedic literature from an immemorial antiquity. It is enough to reply that Yāska refers to four distinct schools of Vedic interpretation and to seventeen interpreters. He was faced in his own day by the Yājñikas like Kautsa who cared for the letter and not for the spirit; his collection of homonyms reveals the great lapse between the first interpretation of the Veda and his own. Therefore, Yāska does not represent the original school of Vedic interpretation but only one of the later schools. And what Indian tradition offers us now is the school that came into existence after Yāska, namely the Mimāṃsaka school.

The R̥gvedic poets held their compositions to be poetry of a high order. They had distinct theories of poetry and fine art. They were keenly alive to the various literary forms like the ballad, the lyric, the monologue, the soliloquy and the drama. They realised the value of imagery and employed it freely. They had their own theories concerning the various literary forms. Besides they had their theories of *rasa* and *dhvani*. It is not only a theory of art that they had, but they also put it into execution. At the same time they demanded of a work of art certain excellences. In short, they were critics and poets at the same time. The seers had definite principles of literary criticism as can be seen from the remarks they pass every now and then.

It has become customary to speak that the theories of literary criticism like *rasa*, *dhvani*, *guṇa*, *alaṃkāra*, *rīti*, *vakrokti*, *vyakti*, and *aucitya*, sprang into existence only in the age of classical Sanskrit literature and culture. All these eight *vādas*

find a harmony in the expositions given by Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta and Jagannātha. Hence if the theories of *rasa* and *dhvani* are said to exist in R̥gvedic literature, it goes without saying that the other principles of literary criticism too were in vogue. We can build up a complete theory of literary criticism accepted and enunciated by the R̥gvedic poets.

2. The R̥gvedic seers frequently observe that they are singing as of old, that their songs are modelled after those of the ancients, and that theirs are still new. Aṅgirasas,<sup>1</sup> Māndhātara,<sup>2</sup> Atri,<sup>3</sup> Jamadagni,<sup>4</sup> Kaṇva,<sup>5</sup> Nabhāka,<sup>6</sup> Kāvya Uśanas,<sup>7</sup> are some of the ancient poets<sup>8</sup> whom they have accepted as their patterns or models. At the same time we know that the song of Trita (1.105) has been remodelled by Kutsa whence it carries the Kutsa refrain. These statements clearly emphasise that the songs of the ancients have a permanent value in that they were able to inspire the poets. That is, the ancients are the poets' poets; in the language of Vālmīki, "param kavīnām ādhāram" (1.4.21). Since the ancients are the poets of poets, the makers of poets or the pure poets, there arose later on the doctrine that the subject matter or the plot of a work of art must be a well known one preserved in some itihāsa or other "prasiddham itivṛttam." The R̥gvedic poets were conscious of the fact that a great poem requires a proper plot which should be possible or probable. This is vouchsafed to us in the work of the ancients which can be conveniently called an "itihāsa purāṇa" along with Geldner and Sieg.<sup>9</sup>

1 *Navyam aṅgirasvad arcata* (2. 17. 1)

2 *Evendrāgnibhagām pitṛvaṇ navīyo*  
*Māndhātṛvad aṅgirasvad avāci* (1.40.12): cf. 10.66.14

3 *Atrivaṇ namasā gṛṇānaḥ* (5.4.9): cf. 5.72.1; 8.35.19

4 *Gṛṇānā Jamadagnivat* (7.36.3)

5 *Gīraḥ Sumbhāmi Kaṇvavat* (8.6.11)

6 *Pra brahmāṇi nabhākavad.....irajyata* (8.40.6)

7 *Pra kāvya uśaneva bruvānaḥ* (9.92.7)

8 *Anuṣṭuvanti pūrvathā* (8.3.8; 15.6): cf. 2.43.2.

9 Geldner: *Vedische Studien*; Sieg: *Sagenstoffe des R̥gveda*

At the same time it does not mean that the poetic composition is to be a patchy imitation. The seers emphasise the fact that their compositions are fresh and new.<sup>10</sup> This means that the poetic theme might be a familiar one. But the worth of a poem lies not so much in the familiarity or otherwise of the subject matter of a poem, but in the way one approaches it, comprehends it, realises it, and handles it. The poetic fact is simple enough. And if we were to insist on the significance of the poetic fact or matter alone, we are passing from poetry to philosophy; for, there is only a slight difference between a poet and a philosopher. Both must have the intuitive apprehension of the real; but this apprehension, or *tattva-darśana*, or the realisation of the inner meaning, must be revealed through a language.<sup>11</sup> It must be clothed in expression. That is, the poetic spirit is beyond the empirical facts or spatio-temporal universe as embodied in reason. It is the world of imagination. This imagination is not the negation of reason, but the source of reason.<sup>12</sup> Consequently the poetic world gives rise to the empirical world.<sup>13</sup> Hence does Socrates observe that an individual is the true citizen of his city of which the pattern is laid in Heaven, and only conditionally on earth.<sup>14</sup>

The significant feature or the characteristic of a work of art lies in its imaginative or intuitive apprehension of the fact. This

10 *Sūktēna vacasā navena* (2.18.3); *Navyam kṛṇomi saṁyase parājam* (3.31.19); *Navyam atākṣad brahma* (1.62.13); *Navisthayā matī* (1.82.2; 8.25.24); *stomam janayāmi navyam* (1.101.2); *Uktham navivo janayasva yajñūḥ* (6.18.15). See also 6. 50. 6; 7. 7. 6; 7. 15. 4; 7.36.14; 7.53.2; 7. 61. 6; 7. 33. 1; 8. 40. 12; 9. 9. 8; 10. 4. 6; 10. 91. 13; Etc.

11 "*Nānṛṣiḥ kavir ityuktaḥ kavīśca kila darśanāt.....darśanād varṇanāccātha loke dr̥ṣṭā kavi śrutiḥ*" (Tauta Bhaṭṭa). "*Sākṣāt kṛta dharmāṇa ṛṣayo babhūvuh.*" (Yāska).

12 See B. Bosanquet: Meeting of Extremes in Contemporary Philosophy, 50ff.

13 Cf. Bharata: *Nāṭya Śāstra* (1. 117).

"*Na taj jñānam nī tac chilpam na sā vidyā nī sā kalā nāsan yogo na tat karma nātye 'smin yan na dr̥śyate.*"

14 Plato: Republic, Book IX.

apprehension makes it new, whence does it enter the world as a powerful force. The novelty pertains to this winnowing activity of imagination. Therefore, the Ṛgvedic poets often observe that their pattern or subject matter is ancient but their presentation is new. This is the fundamental principle of literary criticism prevalent during the Ṛgvedic age.

3. Poetry, said Coleridge, is the best words in the best order; and there are *ālaṃkārikās* who insist on embellishments. There are passages in Ṛgveda bringing forth these aspects of poetry in a different way. We read: “*giraḥ śumbhanti pūrvathā*” (9. 43. 2). The *śoma* is decorated or embellished by the songs. The *śoma* is the subject of the poem. “*Giraḥ śumbhāmi Kaṇva-vat*” (8. 6. 11). Indra is to be approached with embellished songs. That is, poetry, for a few, is embellishing some subject matter; and for others, it is the ornamentation of the form. But the worth of a poem does not lie in the formal decoration, for the spirit of poetry is always beautiful; and as Kālidāsa said, the poetic spirit transmutes everything into beauty.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the spirit of poetry makes even the ornaments look beautiful.<sup>16</sup>

When the Ṛgvedic poets speak of ornamentation, they do not refer to the external *ālaṃkāras*. They only mean that the subject matter selected by a poet should be beautiful, or it should be capable of being presented as beautiful.

One seer observes that a “pure song” has come into existence then: “*Śucim nu stomam nava jātam adya.*” Here by “pure” (*śucim*), the Ṛgvedic poet only emphasises its poetic quality. He eschews all idea of external embellishments. Similarly another declares: “*Pra śukraitu devī maṇīśāsmat*” (7. 34. 1). The poetic thought (*maṇīśā*) is lustrous or beautiful (*śukra*). It is not the *ālaṃkāra* that he insists upon, but the content which can make even the *ālaṃkāra* beautiful. And this poetic thought is always to appear new and fresh. As Māgha observed, Beauty

15 “*Yad yat sādhu na, citre syāt kriyate tat tad anyathā* (*Śakuntalam* VI.)

16 cf. “*Kim iva hi madhurāṇām maṇḍanam nākṛtinām*” (*Śakuntalam* I.)-

is that which constantly appears new;<sup>17</sup> and this is an essential principle of poetic criticism. Hence does one poet speak of “naviṣṭhayā matī” (1.82.2; 8.25.24); that is, the poetic thought is the newest. By this he only means that originality and freshness are the essential features of a work of art. These qualities belong not to the form alone, but to the matter. This newness is always to be in relation to its execution: “akāri te harivo brahma navyam dhiyā” (1.16.21). This does mean that at every moment the poet has a newer, a richer, a fuller and a more significant experience. He feels a wider and broader outlook on life. Consequently the poet’s self becomes expansive and all-inclusive. He is able to let go his personality. Unless the poet loses his personality in that of the others, he cannot give us magnificent works of art.

At the same time simplicity of expression is essential: “ayā vardhasva tanvā girā mama” (8. 1. 18). The poet should not run after the obscure and the far fetched expressions. The words he selects must be common. He must have the poetic perception to understand the significance of words so that he might use the proper word at the proper place. In other words the expression of the poet should be faultless: “Giro yasminn anavadyaḥ samīciḥ” (3. 31. 1). This is the ‘doṣa-rāhitya’ of the rhetoricians of classical Sanskrit. When the words are ‘anavadya’ or faultless, there will be the propriety or *aucitya* in poetry. As such, *aucitya* in expression should not be lost sight of by a poet; for an *aucitya* alone can put an end to the rasanīṣ-patti.<sup>18</sup>

One poet speaks of the poetic thought as glorious and brilliant: “śucipeśasam dhiyam” (1. 144. 1). Purity or loftiness

17 Sisupālavadha :

“Kṣaṇe kṣaṇe yaṇ navatām upaiti  
tadeva rupam ramaṇiyatāyāḥ”

18 Dhvanyāloka :

“Anaucityād ṛte nānyad rasabhaṅgasya kāraṇam.”

itself is the decoration for the poetic thought. It requires no further figures. This thought is again said to be, “śukra varṇam ud u no yamīate dhiyam” (1. 143. 7). It is robed in glowing lustres or colours which constitute its bright garments. The song is as lustrous as the flames of Agni: “Agneḥ śocir na didyutah” (8. 6. 7). The flames of Agni are not only natural to fire, but also inherent in it, they constitute fire. In the same way the poetic thought or wisdom—“vipām agreṣu dhītayaḥ” (8. 6. 7)—is its own ornament. It does not require any external embellishment. It has an inherent beauty which can be compared, in the words of Ānandavardhana, to the “lāvaṇya” in women. There should, therefore, be beauty not only in the execution of the poetic idea and experience, but also in the poetic conception itself (7. 34. 1).

4. The poetic thought, says the Vedic poet, should be truthful.

“Codayatam sūnṛtāḥ pinvatam dhiya  
ut purandhīr īrayatam tad uśmasi” (10. 39. 2).

It is neither the imitation of life, nor an idealisation that a poet should endeavour to present. He should present life in such a way that it would be both an interpretation and a criticism of life. Then alone the empirical fact as winnowed by the poetic imagination can enter the universe as a mighty power. Hence does the R̥gvedic poet constantly refer to the poem as great and powerful. “Indram giro bṛhatīr abhy anūṣata” (3. 51. 1), “Bṛhatī manīṣā” (6. 49. 4). This great or powerful song should also be all-pervading. It should interpret life as a whole and therefore, represent the spirit of the age (zeitgeist):

“Iyam manīṣā bṛhatī bṛhanto—  
rukramā tavaṣā vardhayanti” (7. 99. 6).

Then alone can it be auspicious: “matibhiḥ śivābhiḥ” (10. 67. 9). A poem should be both pious and excellent: “manhiṣṭhābhir matibhiḥ” (8. 23. 23). Therefore does poetry become sacred.

A great poem should have and will have this sanctity, because it is the expression of a vital experience under the stress



of inspiration. Inspiration is always the work of a supra-sensuous force. And during the inspired mood, the poet receives his ideas. The poet becomes a medium of revelation.<sup>19</sup> As such the poem is sacred. It is a song given by God—"devattam brahma" (1. 37. 4). The seer sings with divine thought<sup>20</sup>—"gr̥ṇanto devyā dhiyā" (8. 27. 13). Even the words are divine: "vacasā daivyena" (4. 1. 15).<sup>21</sup> These poetic thoughts are always directed towards R̥ta, the spiritual and moral principle in the universe. This is the true subject matter of all poetry. And a poem should be judged from this standpoint alone.

5. The songs are, therefore, powerful and new from the standpoint of thought: "Pra tavyasīm navyasīm dhītim" (1. 143. 1). They must abound in choice phrases also (acchoktibhiḥ). This is possible only when the thought is purified and embellished.

"Pra śundhyuvam varuṇāya preṣṭham  
matim Vasiṣṭha mīlhuṣe bharaṣva" (7. 88. 1).

Such a pure song, a song which is unadulterated and unsophisticated, should come forth spontaneously. Poetry should come as naturally as leaves to a tree. A poet observes:

"Vaiśvanatāya matir navyasī śuciḥ  
Soma iva pavate cārur agnaye" (6. 8. 1).

The new and pure song rushes forth naturally and spontaneously just like the pleasant Soma to Agni. Hence according to the Vedic seers poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings.

The song itself should have as its matter something that is felt sincerely by the poet's heart.<sup>22</sup> The poem is to be carved out of the heart.

19 See R̥gvedic theory of Inspiration, published in QJMS. 1947-48.

20 Cf. 3. 18. 3. "Imām dhiyam śataścyāya devīm"

4. 43. 1. "Kasyemām devīm amṛteṣu preṣṭham."

7. 34. 1. "Devi manīṣa"

7. 34. 9. "Devīm dhiyam"

21 Cf. 3. 24. 4. "Mahayā girah."

22 Manīṣā (3. 33. 5); Mantram (1. 74. 1); See also 1. 88. 6.

“Imam sv asmai hṛda ā sutaṣṭam  
mantram vocema kuvidasya vedat” (2. 35 2).

It is carved in the heart after it was well thought out (mantram). “Hṛdi spr̥śo manasā vacyamānāḥ” (10-47-7). It touches the heart, it is felt in the heart and along the blood. But the mind too has an important role in the composition of a poem. The poem does not represent only a pure experience. It is not the simple expression of a pure feeling. It involves the play of thought, of understanding, for the aesthetic act is not one of feeling alone, but of feeling in unity with thought.<sup>23</sup> Thus it is said,

“Vidantīm atra naro dhiyam dhā  
hṛdā yat taṣṭān mantrān aśansan” (1.67.2).

The songs or poetic thoughts are carved out of the heart.<sup>24</sup> But still it is not actual carving out, for that means giving shape to a crude material. On the other hand the poetic thought consists of many feelings and ideas which are fused together:

“Vy ūr̥ṇoti hṛdā matim  
navyo jāyatāmṛtam” (1. 105. 15).

The poet weaves his thoughts through his heart. That is a great poem represents the unification of the intellect and the heart. Therefore a poem is to be judged both from the affective and the intellectual standpoints. It should appeal to the senses, heart and mind, all at the same time. It is to be, therefore, simple, sweet and sensuous (i. e. finite). It must breathe the suggestive atmosphere.

6. A poem is not simply the clothing of an idea or thought. It is not purely intellectual, for then it will pass into philosophy. Nor is it purely an expression of mystic consciousness, for it is not an epitome of religion. A poem is not a metaphysical deduction, nor a moral postulate. It

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Mālavikāgnimitra*, 2. 13: “Vijñānena lalitena yojayatā.....”

<sup>24</sup> Cf. 1. 171. 2 “Hṛdā taṣṭo manaso dhāyī devāḥ”

includes both and yet is different from them, for it does not posit an unbridgeable gulf between the empirical and spiritual. It has “*kāntāsammitatva*”; it provides “*lokottarānanda*” or transcendental bliss, spiritual ecstasy, transport. The R̥gvedic poets were conscious of this purpose of art. And yet they do not mean that pure, undifferentiated bliss is the end of art; for according to them bliss is always inseparable from thought.

One seer observes in the fifth Maṇḍala:

“*Ye ṛṣvā ṛṣṭividyaṭaḥ Kavayaḥ santi vedhasaḥ  
tam ṛṣe mārutam gaṇam namasyā ramayā girā*” (5. 52. 13).

The poet is a seer, a creative artist. He expresses his obligation to the deity through the poetic expression which is delightful (*kāmayā*). Another says:

“*Ā te vatso man yamat paramāc cit sadhasthāt  
agne tvām kāmayā girā*” (8. 11. 7).

The poetic speech is pleasant or interesting (*kāmayā*) since it fully expresses the seer’s longings. Hence a third one speaks:

“*Imā u tvā paspṛdhānāso atra  
Mandrā giro devayantīr upa sthulī*” (7. 18. 3)

The words compete with one another. The poet should see that the proper word alone is employed. When the proper word is selected, the song vibrates after its object (*devayantīḥ*), it leads us to the true object of experience by way of suggestion. Hence it is benign and delightful. It is “*mandrā*”; for as another said:

“*Yad vāg vadanty avicetanāni  
rāṣṭrī devānām niṣasāda mandrā*” (8. 100. 10).

Expression not only distinguishes the objects, but also interprets (*vadanti*) the inner significance of the external objects (*avicetanāni*); for, speech is the delightful queen ruling the immortals. These immortals, from a philosophic and aesthetic standpoint are Truth, Beauty, and Goodness. Such a powerful

speech is divine, is created by the gods as one. Though we apprehend the words in manifold ways, they suggest only one Reality:

“Sā no mandreṣam ūrjam duhānā  
dhenur vāg asmān upa suṣṭutaitu” (8. 100. 11).

This poetic expression is a cow (dhenu), or in the words of Daṇḍin, “gauḥ gauḥ kāmadhuk”. The cow gives not only sweet and delicious milk, but also energy besides providing an atmosphere of beauty. In the same way the poetic expression yields not only a meaning, but also a suggestion of the inner Reality, the Reality that underlies the actual.

The poetic expression, therefore, is the sweetest:

“Tubhy edam agne madhumattamam vacas  
tubhyam manīṣā iyaṁ astu śam hr̥de  
tvām giraḥ sindhum ivāvanīr  
mahīrā pr̥ṇanti śavasā vardhayanti ca” (5. 11. 5).

The poem is the sweetest. It is auspicious. And yet it is thought in itself. Like the waters of a river, do the words please the object by unfolding it.

“Idam pitre marutām ucyate vacaḥ  
svādoḥ svādīyo rudrāya vardhanam” (1. 114. 6).

The poem is the most delightful among the delightful and pleasant objects. And this feature of spiritual ecstasy or transcendental bliss reveals itself only when it suggests the Reality and renders possible the spiritual communion. Consequently, a poetic composition should conform to the theories of *rasa* and *dhvani*, when alone it can be “kāntāsammita” yielding “sadyaḥ para nirvṛti.”

7. A great poem is always the outcome or expression of a spiritual sacrifice. The penetrative imagination should be aided by the contemplative imagination. This necessarily presupposes a conflict, a great stress, “Sturm und Drang”; as Yeats said, the poet quarrels with himself. The spatio-temporal personality collides with the transcendental Reality. As a result of the spiritual sacrifice the great poet achieves perfection in his “samādhi”,

and apprehends himself as one with Reality. So the R̥gvedic poets speak of the poem as the product of a sacrifice: “Uktham navīyo janayasva yajnaih” (6.18.15). The poem is born anew out of the sacrifice. “Samiddham agnim samidhā girā gṛṇe” (6.15.7). The poetic expression too is purified by sacrifice, concentration and contemplation. As Kālidāsa observed, samādhi is essential for a work of art. If there is “śithila samādhi”, then the resulting aesthetic creation will be “kāntivisaṃvāda”.<sup>25</sup>

“Yajnena vācaḥ padavīyam āyan  
tām anv avindann ṛṣiṣu praviṣṭām  
tām ā bhṛty ā vy adadhuh purutrā  
tām sapta rebhā abhi sam navante” (10.71.3).

The seers discovered the aesthetic expression through contemplation and sacrifice. Consequently there is purity. It is lofty. But this speech entered the universe only through the seven metres. That is, for poetic expression metre is absolutely essential. The sound should echo the sense. And the sense should have a proper medium for revealing itself. This constitutes the “bhāva lāvaṇya yojana” or the synthesis of content and form, which is a cardinal principle of literary criticism. Hence it is said,

“Anuṣṭubham anu carcūryamāṇam  
indram na cikyuḥ kavayo manīṣā” (10.124.9).

In their poetic thoughts the poets have looked on Indra swiftly approaching when *anuṣṭubh* calls him. The content of the poem achieves a synthetic unity (ananyatva) with its form.

8. The appreciation of poetry does not involve the discursive thought alone. Thought can at best suggest the deeper harmonies and the vital principle.<sup>26</sup> It is the final or the total impression

25 Mālavikāgnimitra: 2, 2

“Citra gatāyām asyam kānti viśaṃ vāda sanki me hrdayam  
samprati śithila samādhim manye yeneyamā likhitā.”

26 1. 164. 37

that counts. If one fails to apprehend this final or ultimate impression, his understanding of poetry is faulty.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, a proper appreciation of poetry depends upon the intuitive apprehension (*premnā*) of the *sabr̥daya*.<sup>28</sup> He should shift the appearances and commune with the underlying spirit of poetry.<sup>29</sup> It is only to such a *sabr̥daya* does a poem unmask her beauty like a welldressed, loving beloved to her lover.<sup>30</sup> Consequently the critic who runs after expression and begins to analyse it alone, is one who wanders in profitless illusion since he does not understand even the poetic expression;<sup>31</sup> he is even a female weaver.<sup>32</sup> The unity of impression is, therefore, more fundamental in a poem, and the poem should be judged only with reference to such a standard.

The critic as such has to fulfil certain conditions if he were to comprehend the total impression. He should be like the *Suparna* which enjoys the fruit of the tree of knowledge;<sup>33</sup> for, then alone can his eyes and ears be properly rewarded.<sup>34</sup> Whatever he hears or sees will be of great aesthetic significance. For him who is ignorant of the power of suggestion in words, poetry will be useless.<sup>35</sup> This is possible only for one who has the intuitive apprehension of the Real.<sup>36</sup> The *sabr̥daya* alone is fully alive to the power of suggestion, to the actual meanings of words. "The wise in spirit have fashioned language like men cleansing corn-flour in a sieve. Only those who have a nature and outlook apprehend the communion with the inner significance, for, in their speech, there lies the treasure"<sup>37</sup> Thus the *sabr̥daya* should know all the *vṛttis*; but at the same time he should realise the supremacy of *uyanjanā*. He too is on a par with the poet. As the poet undergoes spiritual conflict, as the poet experiences spiritual sacrifice, so does the critic too. There is little or no

27 1. 164. 39

29 10. 71. 2

31 10. 71. 5

33 1. 164. 20

35 1. 164. 39

37 10. 71. 2

28 10. 71. 1

30 10. 71. 4

32 10. 71. 9

34 10. 71. 4

36 10. 71. 1

difference between a poet and his critic in an ultimate sense. Both aim at the same goal though in different ways.

9. Rgvedic literary or aesthetic criticism is unique. The seers have laid down once for all an important principle for the interpretation of the creative genius, in the famous Ṛk :

“Devānām nu vyaṁ janā  
pra vocāma vipanyayā  
uktheṣu śāśyamāneṣu  
yaḥ paśyād uttare yuge” (10. 72. 1).

“We shall declare in our poetic composition the genealogy (i. e. nature) of the gods, so that men might (intuitively) apprehend (this experience of ours) as they sing this song in the assemblies of a later day.”

The poet has an experience and it is a vital one. He has the poetic urge and he should express it. Though it is his own personal experience he is prepared to express it since it is universal. In other words, the poet loses his personality in that of the universe in order to gain a richer and a fuller one. In short the poet has no personality of his own; or as Abhinavagupta observed the poet is not different from his critics or audience.<sup>38</sup> The critic is himself an artist, a poet. Great poetry can be interpreted only by a great poet; for as Yāska observed, “Nā hy eṣu pratyakṣam asti anṛṣer atapaso vā”. The poet is a seer; he undertakes penance; he experiences spiritual sacrifice and samādhi. If he intends understanding the poet, the critic too should be a seer, a *tapasyā*.

This implies that the critic should interpret his poet by reviving the original experience of the poet himself. The critic should be able to experience exactly in the same way in which the poet had. Hence does the Rgvedic seer declare that when his song is sung at later times, the men of that age and time will apprehend and experience the same thing exactly like him. Therefore, the chief tenet of literary criticism is the

identity between the experiences of the poet and his critics or readers. Hence did Bharata observe, ‘Kaver antargatam bhāvam.....’; and Tauta Bhaṭṭa emphatically declared : ‘Nāyakasya kaveḥ śrotuḥ samāno ’nubhavastataḥ’ The experiences of the poet, of the hero and of the audience are exactly identical. Consequently one R̥gvedic seer declares, ‘Indro brahmendra ṛṣiḥ.’ Indra, the object of the poetic experience, the poet, and the poem are all identical.

When the R̥gvedic poet declares that the critic of a later age can have the apprehension of his own experience, he means to say that it is the duty of the critic to revive the original experience of the poet. This is possible only when we accept Abhinavagupta’s theory of images. The critic should have ‘vimala pratibhāna śāli hṛdaya’. As he hears the poem he has some understanding of the meaning of the words. This meaning gives rise to corresponding mental images which he directly and immediately apprehends.<sup>39</sup> The apprehension depends upon the distinctness, liveliness, vividness and intensity of these images. It is ‘nirvighna pratīgrāhya’ and it penetrates the heart directly.

This experience is possible for every one, says the R̥gvedic seer; and this can be best interpreted only in the words of Abhinavagupta :

“Sarva sāmājikānām eka ghanataiva  
pratipatteḥ sutarām rasa paripoṣāya  
sarveṣām anādi vāsanā citrikṛta cetasām  
vāsanā samvādāt.”<sup>40</sup>

Consequently, the aesthetic experience on the part of the critic is one of gradual self-revelation, a development of the fuller spirit. The implicit consciousness becomes explicit. Hence

39 “Adhikāri cātra vimala pratibhānaśāli hṛdayaḥ. Tasya ca ‘grivā-bhaṅgābhirāmam’ ity ādi vākyebhyo vākyārtha pratipatter anantaram mānasi sāksāt kārātmikāpahasita tat tad vākyopātta kālādi vibhāgā tavat pratitir upajāyate” (Abhinava Bhārati, I, 280)

Ibid., p. 281.



the *rasa*-realisation is suggested by the Vedic poet to be beyond time, space and causality. “Deśa kāla pramātṛ bhedānīyantrito rasah.” This theory of *rasa*-realisation was developed by Abhinavagupta from passages like 10. 72. 1 occurring in R̥g-veda.

The poet sees the hymn in his vision: “Yuvābhyām prati stomā adṛkṣata” (8.5). The poet is a medium of utterance: “Kavir gīrbhiḥ kāvyena kaviḥ san” (9. 96. 17). By his poetic faculties, the poet creates beauty of the Heaven: “Kaviḥ kavitvā divi rūpam āsajat” (10. 124. 7). As the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (6. 17), which belongs to R̥gveda, declares, the sculpture of the earth is generated out of an imitation of the divine sculpture; the “devaśilpa” is no other than “ātma saṃskṛti”, and by the divine śilpa does our ātman become saṃskṛta. Hence does the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (42. 48) observe that “sādṛśya” is essential for any fine art. This “sādṛśya” is no other than the aesthetic expression of the Spirit. Once this Spirit or Reality is apprehended, then there will arise the poetic composition. Fine art deals with beauty. Poetry is the quintessence of the fine arts. Hence “Kaviḥ kavitvā divi rūpam āsajat” means that poetic beauty is the presentation of the Spirit or Reality as finite, and, therefore, as suggestive. The value of a poem must, therefore, be judged from the standard of the effective portrayal and suggestion of the Spirit.

A living spirit can be, in the words of Plato, “the Spectator of all time and of all existence”; but to be the “Sākṣī”, the spirit should apprehend and experience the poetic or aesthetic consciousness; or as the immortal seers of R̥gveda state,

“Kaviḥ kāvyenāsi viśvavit” (10.91.3).

P. S. SASTRI

## Lakṣmaṇasena's Samvat

The date of the Gaya inscription<sup>1</sup> of Govindapāla is quoted as V. S. 1232<sup>2</sup> Āśvina-sudi 5; the year is called Vikārin according to Jupiter's Cycle as counted in Northern India and the date is stated to have fallen in the 14th year of the *gata-rājya* of king Govindapāla. The date corresponds to the 22nd September 1175 A. D. The colophons of several Buddhist manuscripts copied in the Patna-Gaya region of Bihar refer to the reign of Govindapāla; but, while only one of them mentions the 4th year of his *vijaya rājya* and two others refer respectively to his 18th *atīta* year and the 38th year of his *vināṣṭa-rājya*, three of the colophons speak of the years 24, 37 and 39 as belonging to that monarch but do not mention his *rājya* either as *pravardhamāna-vijaya* or as *gata, atīta* or *vināṣṭa*<sup>3</sup>.

Since the date of the Gaya inscription corresponds to the 22nd September 1175 A. D. and falls in the 14th year of Govindapāla's sovereignty which was then *gata*, i.e. a thing of the past, the 22nd of September in the year 1162 A. D. falls in the first year of this reckoning. Govindapāla is generally believed to have belonged to the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar and to have been the successor of the Pāla king Madanapāla whose inscriptions have been found in the Patna-Gaya region and the latest of which is dated the 11th of Jyaiṣṭha in his 18th regnal year and in Śaka 1083.<sup>4</sup> The date of the inscription corresponds to the 4th May 1161 A. D. The above facts show beyond doubt that Govindapāla succeeded Madanapāla in 1161 or 1162 A. D., that he ruled at least upto his 4th regnal year and that his sovereignty became *gata, atīta* or *vināṣṭa* sometime before the 22nd September 1175 A. D.<sup>5</sup> His *gata*,<sup>6</sup>

1 Bhandarkar's List, No. 370.

2 See *JAS.*, Letters, vol. XVII, p. 28.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

4 *Ibid.*, vol. XX, pp. 43 ff.

*atīta*<sup>0</sup> or *vinaṣṭa-rājya* reckoning was thus not counted from the end of his reign or *vijaya-rājya* (as is often wrongly believed) but was undoubtedly counted in continuation of his ordinary regnal or *vijaya-rājya* reckoning.

There is a similar era associated with the *atīta-rājya* of a king named Lakṣmaṇasena, sometimes called an emperor and also a lord of Gauda.<sup>5</sup> There can hardly be any doubt that this ruler is identical with king Lakṣmaṇasena of the Sena dynasty of Bengal, who ruled in the period *circa* 1179-1206 A. D.<sup>6</sup> The era (called La Saṁ, Lakṣmaṇa Saṁvat or Lakṣmaṇasena Saṁvat) is still popular in North Bihar (Mithilā) where it is known to have also been current during the late medieval period. The earliest records dated in this reckoning are, however, three inscriptions found in the Gaya region of South Bihar where it appears to have originated. It is interesting to note that the years of the era are generally associated with the *atīta-rājya* of Lakṣmaṇasena and the similar case of Govindapāla would suggest that this reckoning was originally counted from the accession of king Lakṣmaṇasena about 1179 A.D. and not from any other date such as that of the end of his reign about 1206 A. D. or of his defeat in the hands of the Muhammadans a few years earlier. The initiation and prevalence of the era in Bihar again suggests the expansion of the suzerainty of the Senas of Bengal over that region. Although much has been written on the Lakṣmaṇasena Saṁvat, or Lakṣmaṇa Saṁvat, or La Saṁ, the problem has not been as yet viewed from this angle of vision.

The beginning of the Lakṣmaṇasena era is supposed to be 1108 A. D. in regard to earlier dates and 1119 A.D. with reference to the later ones. In North Bihar (Mithilā) where the era is still popular, its first year is now regarded as equivalent to 1119-20 A.D. But a calculation based on the years of this era quoted with the corresponding Śaka years in the late medieval

5 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXX, p. 80, note 3; *JASB.*, N. S. vol. XX, pp. 372-73.

6 *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, vol. I, p. 231.

records has shown its beginning to have fallen variously in 1108, 1109, 1110, 1113, 1115 or 1119 A. D.,<sup>7</sup> i. e. on some date between 1108 and 1119 A.D. King Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal, however, flourished much later than this period.

About the beginning of an excellent survey of the problem of the Lakṣmaṇasena era of North Bihar, Dr. R. C. Majumdar observes, "The first point to remember is that no Sena king, not even the two sons of Lakṣmaṇasena, ever used the era, and that there is no evidence that it was ever known, far less used, in Bengal during the Sena period..... This raises grave doubts about the foundation of the era by Lakṣmaṇasena or any other Sena ruler of Bengal."<sup>8</sup> On the same grounds, the late Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri proposed to identify the founder of the era with some other ruler bearing that name and conjectured the existence of a Lakṣmaṇasena among the ruling chiefs of the Sena dynasty of Piṭhī<sup>9</sup> (probably indicating the Buddhist religious establishment at Bodhgaya together with its landed properties), who enjoyed the title *Ācārya* and were probably the precursors of the later Mohant Mahārājas of Bodhgaya. But the tradition referring to the founder of the era as an imperial ruler of Gauḍa undoubtedly points to his identification with the only known Lakṣmaṇasena of East Indian history, viz. the Sena king of that name.

It is admitted that the *atīta-rājya* reckoning started as a result of the reluctance of the partisans or co-religionists of king Govindapāla of the Gaya region to change the mode of dating their records even after his overthrow. If the dominions of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal included the same area of Bihar, the overthrow of his rule from there could have similarly induced his partisans to follow a similar method of dating. It has to be noticed that the people of the Gaya region of Bihar had a liking for this kind of dating in the *atīta-rajya* reckoning

7 *Hist. Beng., op. cit.*, pp. 233, 238.

8 *Loc. cit.*

9 *IASB.*, N. S., vol. XXII, pp. 385 ff.

of particular rulers as it was they who started the *atīta-rājya* reckonings of both Govindapāla and Lakṣmaṇasena, even though the occasional reference to the Vikrama Saṃvat in Bihar as the *atīta-rājya* reckoning of Vikramāditya<sup>10</sup> may be due to the influence of the popular Lakṣmaṇasena Saṃvat. It has to be admitted that there is as yet no evidence of Lakṣmaṇasena's rule over the Gaya area of Bihar, though there are traditions regarding Sena rule in Mithilā or North Bihar and we have now an inscription<sup>11</sup> pointing to the inclusion of the Bhagalpur region of South Bihar within the dominions of Ballālasena (circa 1158-79 A.D.), father of Lakṣmaṇasena, in the ninth year of his reign, i.e. about 1166 A.D. The discovery of this inscription shows that Lakṣmaṇasena's rule over parts of South Bihar including the Gaya region at least for a short time can no longer be regarded as altogether impossible.

Dr. Majumdar says, "It is probable that when the Pāla kingdom in Gaya was finally destroyed, the people, especially the Buddhists, continued for sometime to count their dates with reference to the last Buddhist Pāla king Govindapāla. Again when the Muslim invaders destroyed the Hindu kingdoms in Bihar and Bengal, the people unwilling to refer to the *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya* of the foreign conquerors, counted the dates with reference to the destruction of the last Hindu kingdom."<sup>12</sup> But this suggestion regarding the origin of the Lakṣmaṇasena Saṃvat is possible only if Lakṣmaṇasena ruled over Bihar. We have suggested elsewhere<sup>13</sup> that Govindapāla was ousted from the Gaya region by the Gāhaḍavālas who, as it may now appear, were themselves ousted from that area by the Senas. This possibility explains the introduction of the two *atīta-rājya* reckonings of Govindapāla and Lakṣmaṇasena in the said region and its introduction thence to North Bihar by

<sup>10</sup> *JAS.*, Letters, vol. XX, p. 44.

<sup>11</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXX, pp. 78 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 235.

<sup>13</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXX, p. 82.

the people of that part who fled to the north after the Muslim occupation of South Bihar. Lakṣmaṇasena's *atīta-rājya* reckoning thus seems to have come into existence on the extirpation of Sena rule from Bihar although the calculation must have been the same as the regnal reckoning of that monarch. In such a possibility the 35 years' rule of Palapāla<sup>14</sup> in parts of South Bihar in the second half of the 12th century has probably to be explained by supposing that he was a subordinate ally of the Senas.

But it has to be admitted that we do not know whether Lakṣmaṇasena was ousted from the Gaya area by the Gāhaḍavālas or the Muslims. The silence of the Muslim historians on this point may of course suggest that it was probably the Gāhaḍavālas who re-occupied the area from the Senas no doubt for a short time to be themselves overthrown by the Muhammadans. In this connection it is interesting to note that Sena inscriptions actually speak of Lakṣmaṇasena's struggle with the Gāhaḍavālas.<sup>15</sup> If both the *atīta-rājya* reckonings of Govindapāla and Lakṣmaṇasena started as a result of the people's reluctance to refer to Gāhaḍavāla rule, they may have had some bitter feelings against the Gāhaḍavālas and were partial to the Pālas and Senas of Bengal.

As to the confusion regarding the starting point of the Lakṣmaṇasena *Saṁvat* in Mithilā between 1108 and 1119 A.D., Dr. Majumdar says, "...instead of counting from the end of the reign [of Lakṣmaṇasena about 1200 A.D.] people of the later age counted from his birth [about 1120 A.D.]. ...The artificial character of the era, set up at a later time with

14 Cf. *JBRs.*, vol. XLI, Part 2, 1955, pp. 1ff.

15 Lakṣmaṇasena's Madhainagar (N. G. Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, vol. III, p. 111) and Bhowal (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVI, p. 6) plates, both issued in the later part of his rule, speak of his victory over the king of Kāśī i.e. a Gāhaḍavāla monarch. He is also stated in the records of his son to have planted pillars of victory at Viśveśvara-keśtra (Kāśī) and Trivenī (Prayāga or Allahabad) both in the dominions of the Gāhaḍavālas. See N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-23, etc.

reference to a past event perhaps explains the great discrepancy in the initial years of that era as calculated from the different instances of its use."<sup>16</sup> But we cannot accept the suggestion that the era was an artificial reckoning associated with an event of remote past as Dr. Majumdar puts it,<sup>17</sup> since, as a matter of fact, it was essentially the continuation of Lakṣmaṇasena's regnal reckoning just as the Kuṣāṇa or Śaka era was the continuation of the regnal reckoning of Kaniṣka I. Since moreover the earliest known date in the era is known to be the year 51,<sup>18</sup> its origin could not have been of a remote past at least to its early users.

The earliest use of the era is found in three inscriptions<sup>19</sup> dated respectively in (1) the year 51, Bhādra 29, (2) the year 74, Vaiśākha-vadi 12, Thursday, and (3) the year 83, Kārtika-sudi 15. All of them come from the Gaya region, the first two from Bodhgaya and the third from Janibigha near Bodhgaya. Of the three dates, only the second one is verifiable since the week-day has been mentioned. If, as suggested by us, the reckoning started with the accession of king Lakṣmaṇasena about 1179 A.D., the years 51, 74 and 83 would fall respectively about 1230, 1253 and 1262 A.D. The second date is therefore Thursday corresponding to Vaiśākha-vadi 12 in 1253 A.D. It is interesting to note that in 1253 A.D. the 12th *tiṭhi* of the dark half of the Pūrṇimānta lunar month of Vaiśākha began on Thursday the 27th March at 10 of the day.

The inscriptions of the years 51 (1230 A.D.) and 74 (1253 A.D.) mention *Māhārāja* Aśokacalla, the *Rājādhirāja* of the Khasa country of the Sapādalakṣa (Sawalik) hills, while the record of the year 83 speaks of *Ācārya* Jayasena described as the lord of Piṭhī and the son of Buddhasena. Another Inscription<sup>20</sup> from Gaya mentions the said Aśokacalla, king of the

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 236.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 328.

<sup>18</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 1467.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 1467-69.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1459.

Śapādalakṣa hills, as the overlord of Puruṣottamasimha who belonged to the Chinda family and the Kāma country (probably Kāmā in the Bharatpur District of Rajasthan) and was the son of Kāmadevasimha and the grandson of Jayatuṅgasimha. This inscription is dated in the year 1813 of the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa era, Kārtika-vadi 1, Wednesday. According to the Ceylonese Buddha Parinirvāṇa era prevalent also in Burma and Siam and believed to have started from 544 B.C.,<sup>21</sup> the year 1813 would correspond to 1269-70 A.D. It is interesting to note that in 1270 A.D. the first *tithi* of the dark half of Pūrṇimānta Kārttika falls on Wednesday the 1st of October. The mention of Aśokacalla in 1230, 1253 and 1270 A.D. would suggest that he ruled for over 40 years from about 1230 A.D. to about 1270 A.D. This reign period does not appear to be exceptionally long. Aśokacalla and Puruṣottamasimha probably visited Gaya on pilgrimage.

Recently Dr. A. S. Altekar has thrown some welcome light on this problem. In a paper read at the History Section of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Delhi in December 1957,<sup>22</sup> he draws our attention to a biography of the Tibetan pilgrim Chos-rje-dpal or Dharmasvāmin who was born in 1197 A.D. and died in 1264 A.D. In 1234 A.D. he met king Rāmasimha of Simraongarh, who ascended the throne in 1227 A.D., and in 1241 and 1256 A.D. he was invited to the court of the celebrated Mongol emperor Kublai Khan.

Dr. Altekar says that, according to Dharmasvāmin's biography, in 1235 A.D. the pilgrim was at Bodhgaya where he met its ruler Buddhasena. We have seen that, according to the Janibigha inscription, Buddhasena's son Jayasena was ruling in the year 83 of the Lakṣaṇasena era corresponding in our opinion to

<sup>21</sup> Ojha, *Palaeography of India*, p. 194. The Buddhist monks of Ceylon are known to have enjoyed considerable influence at Gaya.

<sup>22</sup> See *Summaries of Papers*, p. 93. The subject was previously discussed by Dr. B. P. Sinha in *JBRs.*, vol. XLII, Part I, March 1956, pp. 76ff.



1262 A.D. The rule of the father 27 years before a date in the son's reign does not appear to be exceptional.

To sum up, it seems to us that the Lakṣmaṇa Saṃvat was originally counted from the date of the accession of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal [and Bihar] about 1179 A.D., although its starting point was later supposed to be some date between 1108 and 1119 A.D. in North Bihar through confusion. This confusion appears to be associated with the fact that the era was initiated by the people of the Gaya region but that it migrated, even in its infancy, to North Bihar with the migration of many people from the south to the north as a result of the Muslim conquest of South Bihar at the close of the twelfth century. We know the results of the confusion about the initial year of the era. In the late medieval period, the people of North Bihar assigned the commencement of the era to different dates ranging between 1108 and 1119 A.D., although, at a later date, 1119 A.D. came to be generally regarded as the starting point. But the real circumstances leading to this confusion is difficult to determine. The commencement of the era, synchronising with Lakṣmaṇasena's accession in 1179 A.D., seems to have been later confused with the said king's birth, about which people's ideas were probably characterised by confusion owing to the absence of a unanimous tradition.

D. C. SIRCAR

## Bhavabhūti and Umbeka

One of the controversial questions which still await satisfactory solution is whether the Sanskrit dramatist Bhavabhūti and the *Mīmāṃsaka* Umbeka were identical or different. Several scholars who have dealt with this problem have come to different conclusions. It is therefore proposed to deal with it here in the light of accumulated material.

It was the late Shankar Pandurang Pandit, who, in the introduction to his edition of the *Gaṇḍavaho*, first drew attention to the statements in the colophons of two Acts of the *Mālatīmādhava*, which implied the identity of these two great writers. The *Mālatīmādhava* is well-known as a play of Bhavabhūti. In the *prastāvanā* (prologue) of it the poet has given us much information about himself and his ancestors. It is clearly stated therein that the play was written by the poet Bhavabhūti, who had the title of Śrīkaṇṭha. Similar statements occur in the other two plays of Bhavabhūti viz. the *Mahāvīracarita* and the *Uttararāmacarita*. In the colophons of several Acts of all these plays or at least at the end of them, the name of Bhavabhūti is mentioned as their author. But in the colophon of the sixth Act of a MS. of the *Mālatīmādhava*, about 500 years old, which he had obtained from M. V. Lele of Indore, S. P. Pandit noticed Umbekācārya mentioned as the author of the play. Umbeka was further described therein as *Śrī-Kumārilasvāmi-prasāda-prāpta-vāg-vaibhava* i.e. as one who has obtained his literary power through the favour of the illustrious Kumārilasvāmin. In the colophon of the third Act in the same MS. the play was stated to have been written by a pupil of Kumārila. On the strength of these two statements, S. P. Pandit first propounded the theory that Bhavabhūti and Umbeka were identical and that Bhavabhūti was a pupil of the great Mīmāṃsaka Kumārila. In the Preface to his edition of the *Mālatīmādhava*, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar conceded that this view did not conflict chronologi-

cally with any known fact. He, however, felt certain difficulties in accepting it, because no other MS. of the play collated by him contained such a statement and also because Bhavabhūti does not appear to speak of Mīmāṃsā as a subject which he had studied, though he makes mention of some other branches of knowledge. Again, Bhavabhūti makes no mention of his *guru* Kumārila from whom he is said to have obtained his *vāg-vaibhava*. For all these reasons Dr. Bhandarkar felt dubious about the statements, but he did not reject them entirely. He left their verification to future research<sup>1</sup>. Since then two works of Umbeka viz. his commentary called *Tātparyā-ṭīkā*<sup>2</sup> on the *Ślokaṽrttika* of Kumārila and another<sup>3</sup> on the *Bhāvanāvivēka* of Maṇḍana have been published. Besides, references to Umbeka and his views occurring in several works such as Kamalaśīla's commentary on the *Tattva-saṅgraha* of Śāntarakṣita,<sup>4</sup> the *Citsukhī* and its commentary called *Nayana-prasādini*,<sup>5</sup> Rāmakṛṣṇa's commentary called *Yuktisnehaprapūraṇī*<sup>6</sup> on the *Śāstradīpikā* of Pārthasārathimīśra and Śrīdeva's *Syādvādaratnākara*,<sup>7</sup> have also become known. After studying them several learned scholars such as M. M. Kuppusvami Sastri,<sup>8</sup> M. M. Ganganath Jha<sup>9</sup> and M. M. Dr. P. V. Kane<sup>10</sup> have accepted the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka. Dr. Kunhan Raja, on the other hand, in the course of a discussion of several controversial subjects, has expressed his opinion about

1 *Malatīmādhava*, edited by R. G. Bhandarkar, Preface, p. ix.

2 Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 13.

3 Princess of Wales Sarasvati Bhavan Texts, No. VI.

4 Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Nos. 30 and 31.

5 Pub. by the Nirṇayasāgar Press, p. 265.

6 Pub. by the Nirṇayasāgar Press, pp. 2, 14, 30, 48, etc.

7 See extract in Dr. Kunhan Raja's Intro. to his edition of Bhaṭṭa-putra Jayamīśra's com. on the *Ślokaṽrttika*, p. 12.

8 *Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference*, p. 411.

9 See his Introduction to the *Bhāvanāvivēka*, part II, p. 4.

10 See his Intro. to the *Uttarārāmacarita*, Third Ed., p. 26.

this problem. He says at one place, 'Identification of Bhavabhūti with Umbeka is a bare baseless assumption'.<sup>11</sup> Elsewhere he writes, 'The entire question of the identity of Umbeka with Bhavabhūti must also remain in a state of suspense until more reliable evidences come forth'.<sup>12</sup> In view of this opinion, it has become necessary to discuss the problem again. Dr. Raja has provided ample material for a critical examination of it in the learned introduction to his edition of Umbeka's commentary on the *Slokavārttika*.

There are two allied questions: (i) Was Umbeka a pupil of Kumārila? If he was not, what is his date? and (ii) Were Bhavabhūti and Umbeka identical? I shall not discuss the first of these in detail. Since Umbeka has discussed several readings in the *Slokavārttika* of Kumārila and the *Bhāvanāviveka* of Maṇḍana,<sup>13</sup> he must have flourished some time after not only Kumārila but also Maṇḍana. He could not therefore have been a pupil of Kumārila. The lower limit of his date may be fixed as A.D. 775. The earliest writer who mentions Umbeka's views is Kamalaśīla, the pupil of the famous Buddhist philosopher Śāntarakṣita. In his commentary on Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṅgraha*, Kamalaśīla cites and criticises the views of one Ubeyaka about the *svataḥ-prāmāṇya* of cognitions<sup>14</sup>. This Ubeyaka appears to be identical with the *Mīmāṃsaka* Umbeka. Kamalaśīla, who was a pupil of Śāntarakṣita, is placed in the period A.D. 800 to 825. Umbeka whose views he criticises could not, therefore, have flourished later than A.D. 800. The period of Umbeka's literary activity may therefore be taken to be A.D. 775 to 800.

<sup>11</sup> *Tātparyatīkā*, Introduction, p. xxxiv.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxxiii.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxxix and xl.

<sup>14</sup> It may be noted in this connection that the name *Umbeka* has been corrupted into *Omuaka* in the *Syādvāda-ratnākara* of Srideva. See Kunhan Raja's Introd. to his ed. of Jayamiśra's com. on the *Slokavārttika*.

*Were Bhavabhūti and Umbeka identical?*

We shall next take up the question of the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka. It is now agreed on the evidence of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and other works that Bhavabhūti flourished in the first quarter of the eighth century A.D. He could not therefore be identical with Umbeka who flourished at least half a century later. Still, we must also examine critically some other arguments which are advanced to prove their identity. They may be stated as follows:—

(i) As stated before, a MS. of the *Mālatīmādhava*, about 500 years old, states that the play was composed by Umbeka. From the *prastāvanā* of it, however, it is clear that it was a work of Bhavabhūti. Hence Bhavabhūti and Umbeka are identical.

This argument has not much force. As Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar has stated, he did not notice a similar statement anywhere in the MSS. collated by him, which came from different parts of the country from Kashmir to Mysore. We cannot rely on the evidence of a single MS., setting aside the combined testimony of so many other MSS. In his works Bhavabhūti nowhere mentions Umbeka as another name of his and Umbeka also nowhere tells us that he was also known as Bhavabhūti. We can conceive of no reason why they should both be silent about their other names if they had been current. The testimony of other writers who flourished centuries after them has not much worth. Besides, Bhavabhūti was a native of Vidarbha. His ancestors lived in Padmapura which was situated in Vidarbha. It has been identified with the village Padampur in the Bhandara District of Vidarbha. The names of Bhavabhūti's ancestors viz. Mahākavi, Gopāla and Nīlakaṇṭha are of Sanskrit origin like those of the Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the copper-plate grants of the time found in Vidarbha. The name Umbeka appears to be Dravidian. The identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka appears doubtful in view of this difference in the types of their names.

(ii) Another reason advanced to prove the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka is the occurrence of the following

verse in the beginning of the *Tātparyāṭikā* of Umbeka, which is a commentary on the *Ślokaṽārttika* of Kumāṛila<sup>15</sup> :—

ये नाम केचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां  
ज्ञानन्ति ते किमपि तान्प्रति नैष यत्नः ।  
उत्पत्स्यतेऽस्ति मम कोऽपि समानधर्मा  
कालो ह्ययं निरवधिर्विपुला च पृथ्वी ॥

This very verse occurs in the *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti. From his plays we know that Bhavabhūti was in the habit of repeating his verses in more than one work. So he may have repeated this verse in the beginning of his commentary on the *Ślokaṽārttika* in order to tell his contemporary captious critics that he was confident that his philosophical works, like his plays, would be appreciated by people of other lands or of future times. The repetition of this verse in the beginning of the *Ślokaṽārttika-tātparyāṭikā* proves the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka.

This argument also is not unassailable. So far only one MS. of the *Tātparyāṭikā* of Umbeka has been discovered, from which the commentary has been edited by Pandit Ramanatha Sastri and Dr. Kunhan Raja in the Madras University Sanskrit Series. The top portion of the first leaf of the MS. where this verse is said to have occurred is now much damaged. The first line is completely lost. Even in the second and third lines some syllables are missing. From a calculation of the syllables in other lines, Dr. Raja concedes that there was enough space for the verse in the first line, but he doubts if it actually occurred there for the following reasons:—(i) It would leave no space for the *maṅgala* which must have occurred in the beginning of the commentary; and (ii) this verse is extremely inappropriate in this place. Why should Bhavabhūti be apologetic in writing a work on *Mīmāṃsā*? This verse appears quite appropriate in the beginning of his play if he wrote it after his works on the *Śāstras*. For these reasons Dr. Raja thinks that this verse may have at first been written in the margin by some one who

<sup>15</sup> *Tātparyāṭikā*, p. 1.

knew the tradition about the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka and it may have later been incorporated in the text of the commentary by some scribe.<sup>16</sup>

We do not share Dr. Raja's doubts regarding the occurrence of the verse *ye nāma* etc. in the first line of Umbeka's *Tātparyatīkā*. We may well believe the statement of the first editor Pandit S. K. Ramanath Sastri, who made a transcript of it for the edition. We do not also think that the verse could not have occurred in the first line since it leaves no space for a *maṅgala-śloka*. All writers do not write a *maṅgala-śloka* in the beginning of their works. There is no *maṅgala* in the beginning of the *Bhāvanāvivēka* of Maṇḍana. As for the argument that the verse appears inappropriate in the beginning of the *Tātparyatīkā*, we may say that like Bhavabhūti, Umbeka may have provoked the criticism of his contemporaries. He was a great *Mīmāṃsaka*. On several points he held views which were opposed to those of the earlier writers as appears clear from the citations in the commentary *Yuktisnehaprapūraṇī* on Pārthasārathimiśra's *Śāstra-dīpikā*.<sup>17</sup> It is not unlikely that he aroused much antagonism to himself by his criticism of such great writers as Śabara and Kumārila. He was, however, not a man to be cowed down. It should therefore be no matter for surprise if he wanted to tell his contemporary critics that his works were not intended for them. They may be appreciated by people of other lands or by future generations. He must have found Bhavabhūti's verse *ye nāma kecid-īha* etc. quite suitable for expressing his feelings. So he seems to have adopted it instead of composing a new one for the purpose. As the verse did not contain the name of Bhavabhūti, it was equally appropriate in the case of Umbeka. It may be noted in this connection that Umbeka has cited another verse viz.

गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः ।

उत्पथप्रतिपन्नस्य परित्यागो विधोयते ॥

16 See his Introd. to the *Tātparyatīkā*, pp. xxx, f.

17 See the references in n. 6 above.

from the *Mabābhārata*<sup>18</sup> in support of his criticism of the views of Sabara and Kumārila. Dr. Raja has cited some other instances of commentators borrowing verses from earlier writers and using them for their own purpose.<sup>19</sup> The verse

चतुर्मुखमुखाम्भोजवनहंसवधूर्मेम ।

मानसे रमतां नित्यं सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥

which occurs in the beginning of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaadarśa* has, for instance, been used as a *maṅgala-śloka* in Uvaṭa's *Sarvā-nukramanī-bhāṣya*. Several instances of the same type can also be cited from inscriptions. The verse

नमस्तुक्कशिरश्चुम्बिचन्द्रचामरचारवे ।

वैलोक्यनगरारम्भमूलस्तम्भाय शम्भवे ॥

which occurs in the beginning of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* is also noticed in the Hadali inscription, dated Saka 1006, of the Cālukya king Tribhuvanamalla II.<sup>20</sup> The identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka cannot therefore be proved on the evidence of the occurrence of the verse *ye nāma kecid-ihā* etc. in the beginning of the *Tātparyatīkā* of Umbeka.

Another argument advanced by Dr. Raja to disprove the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka has not, however, much force. 'In the whole of the three works of Bhavabhūti', says Dr. Raja, 'I have not been able to discover anything that can be called a partiality for *Mīmāṃsā*. ...If at all there is anything, it is a sort of partiality for *Vedānta*.'<sup>21</sup> He therefore thinks that since Umbeka was a great *Mīmāṃsaka*, he could not have been identical with Bhavabhūti who was a *Vedāntin*. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar also expressed the same view. Dr. Kane, on the other hand, who accepts the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka, explains away the difficulty by supposing that Bhavabhūti *alias* Umbeka was a pupil of Kumārila in early life and that in

18 *Udyogaparvan*, 178, 48; *Sāntiparvan*, 140, 48 (with the third quarter as दृढो भवति शासनम्). Also, *ibid.*, 57, 7. I am indebted for these references to Dr. Kane.

19 *Tātparyatīkā*, Introd., p. xxvii.

20 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 92.

21 *Tātparyatīkā*, Introd., pp. xxv and xxvi.



later life he leaned towards the Vedānta.<sup>22</sup> Dr. Raja's argument is not, however, quite cogent. It is true that Bhavabhūti does not parade his knowledge of the *Mīmāṃsā*, but he could not have been ignorant of that system. He came of a learned family of the Śrotriyas. His forefathers were always engaged in the study and teaching of the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas. One of them had performed the Vājapeya sacrifice. Bhavabhūti, who was born in such a pious and learned family, could not have been ignorant of the *Mīmāṃsā*.<sup>23</sup> As a matter of fact it is not necessary to make a conjecture in this case; for Bhavabhūti describes himself in the *prastāvanās* of his plays as पदवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञः.<sup>24</sup> In this expression *vākya* is taken to refer to the *Mīmāṃsā* which has laid down rules for the interpretation of Vedic passages. In the verse *yad Ved-ādhyayanam* etc. which mentions his knowledge of the different branches of Sanskrit learning, *Ved-ādhyayana* probably stands for the *Mīmāṃsā* as *Upaniṣad-adhyayana* does for the Vedānta. That no works on the *Mīmāṃsā* written by Bhavabhūti have yet come to light is an *argumentum ex silentio*, which is not conclusive. We may note in this connection that we have so far not come across any work by Bhavabhūti on the *Tantrāsāstra*,<sup>25</sup> but that he wrote on that *Sāstra* also is clear from the following verses which occur in the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta.<sup>26</sup> While controverting the view that one cannot attain the position of a *Guru* without *dikṣā* (initiation), *abhiṣeka* etc., Abhinava says,

असदेतदिति प्राहुर्गुरुवस्तत्त्वदर्शिनः ।

श्रीसोमानन्दकल्याणभवभूतिपुरोगमाः ।

तथा हि तीशिकाशास्त्रवितृत्तौ तेऽभ्यधुर्बुधाः ॥

22 Introd. to the *Uttararāmacarita*, p. p. xiv.

23 He uses the term अर्थवाद and cites a passage from Śabara's *Bhāṣya* as shows by Dr. Kane.

24 *Uttararāmacarita* (ed. by P. V. Kane), p. 4.

25 He has, however, used some terms of the *Tantrāsāstra* in the *Mālatīmādhava*, Act IX, v.

26 I am indebted to my friend Prof. G. T. Deshpande, for drawing my attention to this passage.

This shows that Bhavabhūti wrote a work on the *Tantrāśāstra*. He may similarly have written some work on the *Mīmāṃsā* also. This is not therefore a cogent argument to disprove his identity with Umbeka.

(iii) The third argument advanced to prove the identity of Bhavabhūti and Umbeka is that Citsukhācārya appears to suggest it in the following passage from his *Tattvapradīpikā*<sup>27</sup>.

तस्माच्छास्त्रं शब्दविज्ञानादसंनिकृष्टे बुद्धिरिति लक्षणमलक्षणम् ।  
तथा आप्तवाक्यं शब्दप्रमाणमिति नैयायिकानामपि ॥  
आप्तोदीरितवाक्येषु मालतीमाधवादिषु ।  
व्यभिचारान्न तद्युक्तमाप्तत्वस्यानिरुक्तिः ॥

स्वकपोलकल्पितमालतीमाधवादिवाक्येषु प्रामाण्याभावादित्युक्तिः । न हि पुरा आप्त एव सन् नाटकनाटिकादिप्रबन्धविरचनमात्रेणानाप्तो भवति भवभूतिः । उक्तं चैतदुम्बेकेन—‘यदाप्तोऽपि कस्मैचिदुपदिशति न त्वयाननुभूतार्थविषयं वाक्यं प्रयोक्तव्यम् । यथा अङ्गुल्यग्रेहस्तिर्युथशतमास्ते इति । तत्तार्थव्यभिचारः स्फुटः ।

In this passage Citsukhācārya, while finding fault with the definition of the *Śabda-pramāṇa* given by the Naiyāyikas viz. आप्तवाक्यं शब्दप्रमाणम् points out that it suffers from the fault of *ativyāpti*. To prove his point, Citsukha cites the instance of Bhavabhūti. Since Bhavabhūti has written on the *Sāstras*, he may be regarded as *āpta* or trustworthy. But in that case what he has said in his plays like the *Mālatīmādhava* will also have to be taken to be authoritative; for he will not cease to be *āpta* merely because he wrote imaginary plays like that work. This is also stated by Umbeka. ‘An *āpta*’, says Umbeka, ‘tells people that they should not state what is not within their actual experience. If somebody says, for instance, that a hundred herds of elephants are standing on the tip of a man’s finger, the falsity of his statement will be self-evident.’ In this passage Citsukha, by citing a passage from Umbeka immediately after referring to Bhavabhūti, implies that the two are identical. And this is made explicit in the commentary *Nayanaprasādinī*: भवभूतिरुम्बेकः । एतदेव ग्रन्थान्तरस्थेन तद्वचनेन संमतयति । (Bhavabhūti

and Umbeka are identical. This is shown by a statement from another work of him i.e. Bhavabhūti.)

The passage from the *Citsukhī* has not been understood properly. Had Citsukha meant to convey that Bhavabhūti and Umbeka were identical, he would have expressed himself in some such words as the following :—उक्तं नैवतेव. His commentator, no doubt, understands his words in that manner and makes the meaning explicit, but he is a very late author. His words only indicate that in his time, it was believed that Bhavabhūti and Umbeka were identical.

We have thus seen that there is no valid reason for identifying Bhavabhūti and Umbeka. They flourished at different times. Neither of them gives any indication in his works that he bore the other name. Their names, besides, suggest that they belonged to different parts of the country. They must therefore be regarded as different.

It is not difficult to surmise how this belief in their identity originated. The citation of *ye nāma kecid-iba* in the beginning of Umbeka's *Tātparyāṭikā* seems to have misled people into thinking that Umbeka was the same as Bhavabhūti, who wrote the verse in his *Mālatīmādhava*. Again, the passage in the *Tātparyāṭikā* where Umbeka has cited the verse गुरोरप्यवल्लभस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः । उत्पथप्रतिपन्नस्य परित्यागो विधीयते ॥ contains a refutation of the views of Kumārila. So it was supposed that by citing that verse, Umbeka was seeking to support the refutation of his *guru's* views. Kumārila was thus supposed to have been the *guru* of Umbeka. Kumārila's pupil Maṇḍana was a famous *Mīmāṃsaka*. Umbeka, who was believed to be a pupil of Kumārila, was equally reputed. So he came to be identified with Maṇḍana. This belief is noticed in the verse *Umbeka ity-abhibitasya hitasya loke* etc. of Vidyāranya's *Saṅkaradigvijaya*.<sup>28</sup> Further, Vidyāranya describes that Maṇḍana, after his defeat by Śaṅkara, became a sannyāsin and adopted the name of Sureśvara.<sup>29</sup> So Maṇḍana, Sureśvara, Umbeka and

28 *Srīmacchāṅkaradigvijaya* (Anandāśrama Sanskrit Series), VII, 116.

29 *Ibid.*, X, 104.

Bhavabhūti came to be regarded as identical. In many verses Vidyāranya gives Viśvarūpa as another name of Maṇḍana.<sup>30</sup> So one and the same individual was supposed to have borne five names viz. Maṇḍana, Sureśvara, Viśvarūpa, Umbeka and Bhavabhūti. This has caused endless confusion in the history of Indian philosophy.

It is hoped that the foregoing discussion has made it plain that the Sanskrit playwright Bhavabhūti flourished in a different age and was a different person from the Mīmāṃsaka Umbeka.

V. V. MIRASHI

## Attribution of the Apollodotus Coins

It seems that the controversy over the two-Apollodotus theory is still not over. As early as 1886 Gardner<sup>1</sup> distinguished the coins of the first Apollodotus from those of a second king of that name, though he did not discuss their respective distinguishing features. Smith<sup>2</sup> did not believe in the existence of two Apollodotuses and said, "The coins of Apollodotus seem to me to be the issues of one king." Whitehead<sup>3</sup> apparently was of the same opinion, for he entered all the Apollodotus coins under one head. Rapson<sup>4</sup>, on the other hand, accepted Gardner's two-Apollodotus theory. Following him Tarn<sup>5</sup> made much of the two Apollodotuses. Marshall<sup>6</sup> also, in his *Taxila*, distinguished the coins of Apollodotus I from those of his namesake. Allan<sup>7</sup> too, in Chapter 41 of Marshall's *Taxila*, has discussed the coins of the two Apollodotuses. Whitehead<sup>8</sup> ultimately accepted Gardner's two-Apollodotus theory. In the *MS. Catalogue* of his fine collection of Indo-Greek coins, M.F.C. Martin made a distinction between the coins of Apollodotus I and those of Apollodotus II. Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett<sup>9</sup> believes in the existence of

1 P. Gardner, *BMC.*, 1886, pp. 34-39.

2 V. A. Smith, *IMC.*, 1906, p. 18, note 1.

3 R. B. Whitehead, *PMC.*, 1914, pp. 40-49.

4 E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, 1897, p. 6.

5 W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, specially pp. 140-3, 147-51, 162-67.

6 J. Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 31: "Apollodotus' copper coins of the 'Apollo and tripod' type have often been confused with the much later and more numerous issues of Apollodotus II, with the result that he has been credited with a far more extensive coinage than he is entitled to."

7 *Ibid.*, p. 859.

8 R. B. Whitehead, in *op. cit.*, p. 835, No. 46: "This is a coin of Apollodotus II; it is later than Apollodotus I; and belongs to the Taxila region."

9 American Numismatic Society's *Museum Notes III* (1948), p. 34.

two Apollodotuses. H. K. Deb<sup>10</sup> speaks of Apollodotus I in clear terms, thereby distinguishing between the coins of two kings of that name. The British Museum still maintains—and certainly not without sufficient reason—the distinction between the coins of one Apollodotus and those of another.<sup>11</sup> Thus, the question of the existence of a second Apollodotus seemed of late to have been generally accepted.

But Dr. A. K. Narain has in his recent book, *The Indo-Greeks*, disputed the two-Apollodotus theory. He has tried to show that the so-called Apollodotus I was not an early king, as scholars have supposed, that he was not at all removed in time from the so-called second Apollodotus, and that, as a matter of fact, both were identical. "There is nothing in the coins of Apollodotus to distinguish two kings of the same name." He thinks, on the contrary, that the Apollodotus coins (other than the silver portrait-coins) have been "divided more or less arbitrarily between the two" kings.<sup>12</sup> Without going into the details of chronology, we propose here to study the Apollodotus coins and to see if they have actually been "arbitrarily" divided between two Apollodotuses.

### *Silver coins.*

The following two varieties of silver coins were attributed to Apollodotus I by Gardner:—

1. *Obv.* Elephant moving to right, band round body. Continuous Greek legend: (VI) *Basileōs Apollodotou Sōtēros*.

<sup>10</sup> *IHQ.*, vol. X, p. 513.

<sup>11</sup> See Dr. A. K. Narain's statement in *The Indo-Greeks (IG)*, pp. 124-25.

<sup>12</sup> *IG.*, p. 64. Dr. Narain has also elaborated this thesis in his recent article in *JNSI.*, vol. XIX, pp. 121-134. The article is written in reply to J. P. Guépin's paper published in *Overgedrukt nit het Jaar boek Noor Munten Penning Kunde* (1959) which was not available to us. But it is clear that Guépin too believes like us in the existence of two Apollodotuses, though on grounds different from ours. Our approach is purely numismatic.

*Rev.* Humped bull moving to right. Continuous Kharoṣṭhī legend: (VI) *Maharajasa Apaladatasā tratarasa*.

[These are round Attic hemidrachms<sup>13</sup> without any monogram. See *BMC.*, Pl. IX. 8.]

2. *Obv.* Elephant moving to right. Greek legend: (l) *Basileōs* (top) *Apollodotou* (r.) *Sōtēros*.

*Rev.* Humped bull to right. Kharoṣṭhī legend: (r.) *Maharajasa* (top) *Apaladatasā* (l.) *tratarasa*.

[These are square drachms of the lighter Indian standard with a number of monograms and detached Greek letters. See *BMC.*, Pl. IX. 9.]

We endorse the attribution of the above two varieties of coins to Apollodotus I mainly for two reasons. Firstly, their style and fabric are quite distinct from those of other silver coins bearing the name of Apollodotus; and secondly, the position of the king's name in the legends is peculiar and characteristic of a king, who sought to introduce a new style by putting his name *before* the epithet in both the Greek and the Prakrit versions.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the name *Apollodotou* in Greek or *Apaladatasā* in Prakrit in Apollodotus I's coin legend always occurs *before* the epithet *Sōtēros* or *tratarasa*.

Three varieties of the bust-type silver coins, on the other hand, are assigned by Gardner to Apollodotus II: —

3. *Obv.* Diademed bust of king to right. Greek legend: (above) *Basileōs Sōtēros* (below) *Apollodotou*.

13 These round elephant-and-bull coins of Apollodotus I cannot be attributed to the denomination of drachms of the Indian standard with a weight of about 38 grains, for the maximum weight recorded for a coin of this series is only 31 grains, whereas the square counterparts of these coins weigh much more and conform to the Indian drachm-standard. The Indo-Greeks appear to have been very keen about weight-standards and probably did not make any confusion. All older numismatists of repute have, therefore, taken the round pieces for Attic hemidrachms. But Dr. Narain thinks otherwise, see *JNSI.*, XIX, pp. 121-34.

14 It is never seen on coins of any other Indo-Greek king, and is thus the most distinguishing feature of the money of Apollodotus I.

Rev. Pallas standing to left, holding in the left hand aegis and hurling thunderbolt with the right. Kharoṣṭhī legend: (above) *Maharajasa tratarasa* (below) *Apaladatasā*.

[These are round drachms struck in the lighter Indian standard. They are of comparatively coarse fabric, bearing a number of Kharoṣṭhī letters or monograms besides Greek ones. See *BMC*, Pl. X. 4.]

4. *Obv.* Bust of king as above, but with longer Greek legend: (above) *Basileōs Sōtēros Kai Philopatoros* (below) *Apollodoton*.

Rev. Pallas thundering and Kharoṣṭhī legend as on No. 3 above (without any Prakrit equivalent for *Kai Philopatoros*).

[These are also round drachms bearing Greek monograms and detached Kharoṣṭhī letters; but their fabric is finer. See *BMC*, Pl. X. 2.]

5. *Obv.* Bust of king as above, but with still longer Greek legend: (above) *Basileōs Sōtēros Megalon Kai Philopatoros* (below) *Apollodoton*.

Rev. Pallas thundering and Kharoṣṭhī legend as on No. 3 above (there being again no Prakrit equivalent for *Megalon Kai Philopatoros*).

[These are round Indian tetradrachms bearing Greek (and sometimes Kharoṣṭhī) monograms. Their execution is also comparatively fine, See *BMC*, Pl. X. 1.]

We endorse Gardner's attribution of the above coins to the second Apollodotus mainly for the position of the king's name, which unlike that of Apollodotus I occurs at the end and *after* the epithet (or epithets). Their somewhat inferior workmanship and the Kharoṣṭhī monograms or letters that occur on them are other characteristics of these coins. Had all the silver coins with the name of Apollodotus been struck by one king, one wonders why he should once strike the strange 'Elephant and Bull' coins and again strike the Pallas-reverse bust-type pieces.<sup>15</sup>

15 Two more Indo-Greek kings, viz., Antimachus II and Telephus, who like Apollodotus I did not show their portrait on coins, confined their silver issues in single types as well as in small denomination,



One series is so basically distinct from the other that the two could have scarcely belonged to the same king.

### Copper coins

So far as the many varieties of the copper coins with the name of Apollodotus are concerned, our criteria of style and the position of the king's name in the legend will help students to attribute them to one king or the other, even though their main types are the same in almost all cases,<sup>16</sup> viz., 'Apollo standing' and 'Tripod-lebes.' Thus, coins bearing the Greek legend, *Basileōs Apollodoton Sōtēros* and its Prakrit equivalent *Maharajasa Apaladatasa tratarasa* (that is, the coins with the king's name occurring *before* his epithet) may safely be assigned to Apollodotus I Soter. One will observe that the shape of all such coins is only square (unlike those of Apollodotus II, which are often round); they bear on the obverse a 'finely executed' laureate Apollo, who invariably stands 'facing', holding a bow in the right hand and an arrow in the left. Their full description runs as follows:—

6. *Obv.* Apollo, laureate, standing, 'facing'; holding in the right hand an arrow and in the left, a bow which rests on ground. Greek legend: (l.) *Basileōs* (top) *Apollodoton* (r.) *Sotēros*.

*Rev.* In dotted square, tripod-lebes. Kharoṣṭhī legend: (r.) *Maharajasa* (top) *Apaladatasa* (l.) *tratarasa*.

[These are square pieces. See *BMC.*, Pl. IX. 10.]

Copper coins of Apollodotus II bear legends arranged similarly as in those of his silver ones, his name occurring always *after* his epithet or epithets. Compared to those of Apollodotus I, again, they are generally of inferior workmanship and rougher fabric. Many of them are round in shape unlike any copper coin of Apollodotus I. Detached Kharoṣṭhī letters are also a characteristic feature of Apollodotus II's coins. Moreover,

<sup>16</sup> There is a single exception. Apollodotus II struck some copper coins with the type of Apollo 'seated' on the obverse. See No. 12 below.

iconographically Apollo on the coins of Apollodotus II cannot be identified with the same deity as on the issue of Apollodotus I. Apollo on the coins of Apollodotus II is generally depicted as standing to right and holding arrow in both hands, while the god on the coins of Apollodotus I never stands to right and never holds arrow in both hands. Let us describe some copper coins which are assignable to Apollodotus II:—

7. *Obv.* Within a formal wreath, Apollo standing to right, wearing chlamys and boots, with quiver at his back, holds arrow with both hands, while the bow rests uprightly on the ground before him. Greek legend: (l.) *Basileōs* (written upwards) (r.) *Apollodoton* (written downwards).

*Rev.* Within an astragalus border, tripod-lebes. Circular Kharoṣṭhī legend: (above) *Maharajasa tratarasa* (below) *Apaladatasā*. (The obverse does not bear any equivalent Greek word for *tratarasa*).

[This coin is round and unique. Characteristic iconographic features of Apollo and the position of the royal name in the Prakrit legend suggest its attribution to Apollodotus II. See *NC.*, 1946, pp. 143-44, No. 5. Fig. 4.]

8. *Obv.* Apollo standing to right, clad in chlamys and boots holding with both hands an arrow; a quiver at his back, Greek legend: (above) *Basileōs Sōtēros* (below) *Apollodoton*.

*Rev.* Tripod-lebes. Kharoṣṭhī legend: (above) *Maharajasa tratarasa* (below) *Apaladatasā*.

[This is the commoner variety of the round coins of Apollodotus II and are quite big in size, showing detached Kharoṣṭhī letters besides Greek monograms. See *BMC.*, Pl. X. 5.]

9. *Obv.* Apollo standing to right with quiver at back and holding arrow in both hands. Greek legend: (l.) *Basileōs* (top) *Sōtēros* (r.) *Apollodoton*.

*Rev.* In a square of dots, tripod-lebes. Kharoṣṭhī legend: (r.) *Maharajasa* (top) *tratarasa* (l.) *Apaladatasā*.

[These are square copper coins ascribable to Apollodotus II according to the criteria of the position of the royal name in the

legend and the iconographic features of Apollo. See *BMC.*, Pl. x. 8.]

10. *Obv.* Apollo standing to right, with quiver at his back and arrow in both hands, while the bow rests on the ground in front of him. Greek legend arranged on *four* sides: (l.) *Basileōs* (top) *Sōtēros Kai* (r.) *Philopatoros* (below) *Apollodotou*.

*Rev.* Tripod-lebes. Kharoṣṭhī legend is also arranged on *four* sides: (r.) *Maharaja-* (top.) *sa trata-* (l.) *rasa* (below) *Apaladatasa*.

[The position of the king's name in the peculiarly arranged legends as well as Apollo's iconographic features indicate the attribution of these small square coins to Apollodotus II. See *BMC.*, Pl. X. 9.]

11. *Obv.* Apollo standing, facing, clad in chlamys and boots; quiver behind shoulder; bow held in l. hand; in r., arrow resting on the ground. Greek legend: (l.) *Basileōs* (top) *Sōtēros* (r.) *Apollodotou*.

*Rev.* Tripod-lebes: Kharoṣṭhī legend: (r.) *Maharajasa* (top) *tratarasa* (l.) *Apaladatasa*.

[This unique square coin is attributed to Apollodotus II because of the position of the king's name in the legend and the occurrence of a Kharoṣṭhī letter or monogram. See *BMC.*, Pl. X. 6.]

12. *Obv.* "Draped figure of Apollo seated on a chair to right, and holding out a bow in his l. hand." Greek legend: (l.) *Basilēos* (top) *Sōtēros* (r.) *Apollodotou*.

*Rev.* Tripod-lebes. Kharoṣṭhī legend: (r.) *Maharajasa* (top) *tratarasa* (l.) *Apaladatasa*.

[These are rare square coins, attributable to Apollodotus II, because of the position of the king's name in the legend, the occurrence of detached Kharoṣṭhī letters or monograms and the coarse fabric. See *Taxila*, Pl. 237. 87, 88]

It will thus be evident from our study of the coins bearing the name Apollodotus that two clearly and basically distinct series are discernible. Both the series cannot be attributed to one and the same king. Critical study of the Apollodotus coins

will convince students that the way in which great numismatists have divided them between two kings is not arbitrary. The coins of Apollodotus I have features quite distinct from those of Apollodotus II:

(a) The positions of the royal names in the legends of the two kings are different: Apollodotus I's name occurs *before* the epithet, while that of Apollodotus II *after* the epithet.

(b) While both the Greek and Prakrit versions of the coin-legends of Apollodotus I are constant and always correspond to each other, only the Prakrit legend on the coins of Apollodotus II is constant, and it rarely corresponds to the Greek legend.

(c) The coins of Apollodotus I are of better workmanship and finer fabric, compared to those of the second Apollodotus.

(d) Monograms which occur on the coins attributable to Apollodotus I are not seen on those which can be attributed to Apollodotus II. None of the twenty-eight monograms that occur on the coins of Apollodotus I is seen on the money of Apollodotus II, which bear at least twenty-nine different monograms. And this fact is highly significant.

(e) Detached Greek letters occur along with monograms on the coins of Apollodotus I. Such detached Greek letters are never seen on the issues of Apollodotus II. Similarly, detached Kharoṣṭhī letters, seen on the coins of Apollodotus II, never occur on those of the first king of that name.

(f) Attic issues are confined to the coinage of Apollodotus I, while no coin of Apollodotus II conforms to that standard.

(g) Silver coins attributable to Apollodotus I never bear the royal portrait, while those attributed to Apollodotus II are invariably portrait-coins.

(h) Apollo on the coins of Apollodotus I is much better executed and shows iconographic features, which are characteristic and are at the same time distinct from those of the Apollo on the coins of Apollodotus II.

(i) Square shape is characteristic of *some* silver and *all* copper coins of Apollodotus I; but no silver coin attributable to Apollodotus II is square and many of his copper coins are round.

(j) While the varieties of both the silver and copper coins of Apollodotus I are few and suggestive of a comparatively short reign, those of Apollodotus II are many and indicative of a long reign and a wide territory.

All these considerations have led us to believe in the existence of two Apollodotuses. But we do not like to call the second king of this name, Apollodotus II Philopator,<sup>17</sup> for that is misleading. Coins attributable to Apollodotus II sometimes bear one epithet and that is not *Philopatōr*, but *Sōtēr*. We therefore propose to call the first king, Apollodotus I Soter and the second, Apollodotus II Soter Philopator. As already seen, both the Greek and the Prakrit legends of Apollodotus I are constant and correspond to each other, but the Prakrit legend alone of Apollodotus II remain unchanged and rarely corresponds in meaning to the Greek legend. Apollodotus II seemed to have made several experiments with his Greek legend: type 7 does not bear any epithet, while type 3 bears the epithet *Sōtēr* only; again, type 4 has two epithets *Sōtēr* and *Philopatōr* and type 5 has three, *Sōtēr*, *Megas* and *Philopatōr*. Apollodotus I, on the other hand, always bore one epithet, *Sōtēr*.

A. N. LAHIRI

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Rapson, *CHI.*, p. 707. The misleading position has rightly been commented upon by Marshall in his *Taxila*, vol. I, p. 31, note 2.

## Two aspects of Law and Politics in the Ancient Indian State (c. 600-300 B.C.)

### I

A fundamental feature of the *Smṛtis*, as is well known, is the concept of *Dharma* or law of the social order imposing upon the constituent units of society their respective duties and occupations. In this social unit are comprised not only the four castes (*varṇas*) and the four orders (*āśramas*) and an indefinite number of the so-called mixed castes, but also the king who is, as it were, a member *sui generis*. The king's distinctive duties comprise protection of the people, guardianship of the law of the social order and so forth. In this *milieu* the king's prerogatives are primarily conceived in the *Dharmasūtras* in terms of the rules of social precedence, of ceremonial purity and of personal security based on social and moral sanctions. These may be described somewhat fully as follows.

1. Right of social precedence rivalling that of the Brāhmaṇa. The king, we are told, is master of all with the exception of the Brāhmaṇas, and while all except the Brāhmaṇas shall serve the king from a lower seat, the Brāhmaṇas also shall honour him (Gautama XI 1 and 7-8);<sup>1</sup> the king with his wife of equal caste and other female relations is reckoned as equal in status to the spiritual preceptor (Viṣṇu XXXII 1). Again we read that the spiritual preceptor and the king must not be reviled (Gautama XI 3 1-2), and that a would-be householder (*snātaka*) must not speak harshly of the king (Āpastamba I 11. 3 1.5), nay more, that an official (*preṣya*) who is not able to recite the Veda must not even pronounce the king's name in salutation (Gautama VI 13).<sup>2</sup> Again we are told that the *snātaka* may go to a ruler (*īśvara*) for acquisition and security (*yogakṣema*), but to no other beings

1 *Upāsiran* explained by the commentator Maskari as *severan* 'shall serve'. It is translated by Bühler (SBE., II, 235) as 'shall worship'.

2 The *snātaka* is a person of the first three classes who has bathed after completing his studentship.

except the gods, the revered persons (*gurus*) and the righteous men (Gautama IX 63-4), and more directly that the *snātaka* must not beg from any other than the king or his fellow-disciple (Vāśiṣṭha XII 2). The largest body of rules relates to the king's title, firstly to the much-prized right of receiving the guest-offering (*arghya*) consisting of rice, milk, curds and other ingredients along with water mixed with *durvā* grass and so forth, or else the honey-mixture (*madhuparka*) consisting of curds or milk along with water mixed with honey, and secondly the right of way. According to Gautama (V 30-1) a king visiting a householder is to be honoured with *madhuparka* if he is learned in the Vedas and with seat and water if he is not one: the king along with the officiating priest is included by Vāśiṣṭha XI 1-2 in a list of six persons who are entitled to the *arghya*. The king and the learned Brāhmaṇa, says a quotation in Baudhāyana (II 3. 63), must be honoured with *arghya* on specified occasions, or else when they have come from abroad.<sup>3</sup> A just king, says Āpastamba (II 4. 8. 6-7), is entitled to the *madhuparka*, while a king is to be similarly honoured if he comes after a year.<sup>4</sup> The king, we are told in the next place, has the supreme right of way subject only to the right of the Brāhmaṇa (Āpastamba II 5. 11. 5-6, similarly Śaṅkha no. 16), and more particularly, of a *śrotriya* (Gautama VI 24-5 and Viṣṇu LXIII 51): the king is included with the Brāhmaṇa in a list of those for whom way be given in a more general passage (II 3. 6. 30.) of Baudhāyana.

2. Right of perpetual ceremonial purity. The king and the Brāhmaṇa, says Gautama (XIV 45-46), are always pure. Kings become at once pure, explains Vāśiṣṭha (XIX 47) when they have done acts causing death, and they remain always pure when doing acts not causing death. Like those engaged in religious vows (*vratins*) and in the performance of sacrificial

3 *Prāptaḥ* meaning *pravāsādabhyāgataḥ* 'when they have come from abroad' (as explained by the commentator Govindasvāmin) is translated by Bühler (SBE., XIV, 245) 'as when they come'.

4 With the above compare *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra* I.24-5 enjoining *madhuparka* to be offered to the king.

sessions (*satrins*), observes Yama (quoted by Vasiṣṭha in the following verse), the king is free from the taint of impurity. According to the more detailed explanation of Viṣṇu (XXII 48; ibid 52) kings never become impure while engaged in the performance of their royal work (*rājākarma*), nor those who carry out the king's orders if he desires them to be pure. The idea of transfer of the king's right of perpetual purity conveyed in the last statement is reflected in a dictum common to Gautama (XIV. 10) and Viṣṇu (XXII 47), namely that death at the king's hands releases the relatives at once from ceremonial impurity. The principle of transfer of the king's impurity or misfortune to his subjects is reflected in other rules. Vedic study is to be interrupted according to Gautama (XVI 32) and more specifically for a day and night according to Baudhāyana (I 11. 21. 4) and one day's impurity is to be observed according to Viṣṇu (XXII 45), when the king of the particular country dies. According to Viṣṇu (XXX 23 and LXVIII 5) the *Vedas* must not be studied when the king is in distress (*vyasana*), nay more, the householder must not eat his meals when the king is in the same condition.

3. Right of personal security based on social and moral sanctions. The murderer of the king, says Gautama (XX, 1) must be cast off even if he be one's father. According to Viṣṇu (I. 11) the murder of the king entails the severe penance called *mahāvratā* for twice the number of years (viz. 24 years) prescribed for the murder of a Brāhmaṇa.<sup>5</sup> One gains heaven, says Viṣṇu (III, 45), by being killed for the king's protection. To the above Baudhāyana (II, 2. 4, 15) and Viṣṇu (XXXVI, 4) add that connection with the king's wife (*narendrabhāryā*) is as heinous a sin as the violation of the *guru's* bed.

From the above explanation of the early *Smṛti* view of the king's prerogatives, let us turn to the idea of Kauṭilya who has left us the only complete and the most authoritative, though not

5 *Mahāvratā* means the penance of living in a hut of leaves in the forest, collecting alms from one village to another, sleeping on the grass, proclaiming the sinner's guilt and so forth (Viṣṇu, L 1-5)



the most representative work on *Arthaśāstra*. From a well-known definition of Kauṭilya we learn that *Arthaśāstra* has the two-fold objective of acquisition and security of dominion. This tends to shift the emphasis from the society charged with its comprehensive law of the social order to the State specifically associated with its branch of civil and criminal law. In Kauṭilya's thought as in that of his Teacher, moreover, the king stands at the head of the seven *prakṛtis* or constituents of the State and government. In these circumstances the king's prerogatives are stated by Kauṭilya with remarkable distinctness in terms of the State law. These comprise the following principal items.

1. Right of protection of the royal revenue against loss. Kauṭilya in one place (II 8), while explaining eight methods of loss of revenue caused by the officials concerned, mentions the penalties for this act which range from twice to twelve times the amount of this loss. A man guilty of concealing the king's funds (*rājakoṣa*), we read elsewhere (IV, 8), is to be subjected to tortures of various kinds at the king's discretion. Even for cutting off the leaves, branches and trunks of trees marked with the royal sign, or standing in the king's garden the scale of fines is double in comparison with the penalties for injuring other trees (III 19).

2. Right of protection of the royal (State) factories, shops and stores against theft of goods by the operatives. Death without fine, we are told in one place (IV 9), is the penalty for theft from factories for the manufacturer of mineral and valuable agricultural products, while the first or the lowest amercement (*prathamasāhasa*) is the punishment for theft from factories for the production of less valuable articles.<sup>6</sup> Theft of the royal merchandise (*rājapaṇya*) from the State shops and stores belonging to 'the royal areas' (*rājaparigrāha*) was punished with disproportionate severity as compared with theft by stealth in day-time from threshing-floors and fields as well as houses and shops belonging

6 *Suddhavadha* meaning 'death without fine' according to T. Ganapati Śaṣtri may also be translated as 'death without torture'.

to 'the other areas' (*bāhyas*). This may be illustrated by the following table :

Value of stolen property in <i>māṣas</i> and <i>pañas</i> (16 <i>māṣas</i> being equal to 1 <i>pañā</i> )	Penalties for theft of private property	Penalties for theft of State property
up to 4 <i>māṣas</i>	3 times the value	12 times the value
up to 8 <i>māṣas</i>	6 times as above	24 times as above
up to 12 <i>māṣas</i>	9 times as above	36 times as above
up to 16 <i>māṣas</i>	12 times as above	48 times as above
up to 2 <i>pañas</i>	24 <i>pañas</i>	first amercement
up to 4 <i>pañas</i>	36 <i>pañas</i>	middle amercement
up to 5 <i>pañas</i>	48 <i>pañas</i>	...
up to 8 <i>pañas</i>	...	highest amercement
up to 10 <i>pañas</i>	first amercement	death

3. Protection of the king's dignity and authority by special clauses of the civil and criminal law. A woman according to Kauṭilya III 3 forfeits her claim to her two special types of property (namely *strīdhana* and *śulka*) for expressing hatred of the king. Gift over the head of the king out of pride, we are further told (III 16), is punishable with the highest amercement : for counterfeiting the king's edict or seal the penalty is the lowest, the middle or the highest amercement or death according as the offender is the head of a house-hold or the head of a governmental department, a village chief or the owner of a village or town (IV 10)<sup>7</sup> : for mounting the king's conveyance or seat, for prophesying the king's misfortune and for tampering with the king's edict the punishment is mutilation of the limbs, or else a heavy fine (IV 10) : cutting off the tongue is the penalty for slandering the king and betraying his counsel (IV 11) ; death with atrocious tortures of various kinds is the punish-

7 The translations of *mukhya* as 'village or other chief' and of *svāmi* as 'the owner of a village or town' follow the explanation of T. Ganapati Sastri. The lowest, the middle and highest amercement (*prathamāsāhasa*, *madhyamāsāhasa* and *uttamāsāhasa*) amount to 250, 500 and 1000 *pañas* respectively (Manu, VIII, 138)

ment of killing or stealing the king's elephants, horses and chariots, for attempting to seize the throne, for creating disaffection in the town and countryside and among the troops (IV 11). To this last clause there is the characteristic exception that the Brāhmaṇa offender should be thrown into a dungeon.<sup>8</sup> It is evident that the clauses last-mentioned amount to a well-defined law of treason in our ancient history.

We have a striking historical reference to the law of treason prevailing in the kingdom of Magadha allegedly in the Buddha's time in two stories of the Pali Canon. When a trouble broke out in the border provinces of Magadha, we read in the first story (*Vinaya Piṭaka* I 73-4), King Bimbisāra ordered his military commanders (*senānāyakas*) to go out and suppress the same. But many distinguished warriors, considering fighting to be an evil, received ordination from monks. On receiving this report the king consulted his judicial officers who mentioned the atrocious punishments that should be inflicted upon the offenders. This last included, strikingly enough, those who had participated in the act of ordination namely the preceptor, the reciter of the resolution and the chapter. When Prince Ajātasattu, we read in the second story (*ibid* II 190) was caught in the act of attempting to murder his father king Bimbisāra and was made to confess his guilt, the king enquired of his officials (*mahāmattas*) what penalties were to be inflicted upon the Prince and his associates. Replying to the king's enquiry some officials advised that the Prince should be slain along with his evil genius Devadatta and all Bhikkhus (associated with them), others advised that the prince and Devadatta should be slain, but not the Bhikkhus who had done no wrong. Still others advised that none of these should be slain, but that the ministers would do as the king commanded. The king, being apprised of the whole affair, commanded that the *mahāmattas* of the first category should be

8 *Tamab praveśayet* 'should be thrown into a dungeon' (T. Ganapati Sastri) is to be preferred to 'should be drowned' (reading and translation of R. Shamastry).

made incapable of holding office ever again, that those of the second class should be degraded to lower offices, and that those of the third group should be promoted to high positions. The above extracts indicate, firstly, that breach of military discipline and attempting to compass the king's death were regarded in Magadha as acts of high treason punishable with death accompanied with tortures ; secondly that the law nevertheless was held to be sufficiently elastic for its application to be left to the king's discretion alone.

## II

A very characteristic feature of the social system in the *Smṛtis* is the ascendancy of the Brāhmaṇa order traceable ultimately to the Vedic dogma of its divine creation. From this follows as a natural corollary a number of Brahmanical immunities and privileges in the *Smṛti* law. We shall confine ourselves here to some clauses relating to the immunity of the Brāhmaṇa's person. The Brāhmaṇa, we read (Gautama XII, 46-7), is altogether exempt from corporal punishment (*śārīro daṇḍaḥ*), the penalties allowable for him being prevention of the offence (*karmaviyoga*), public exposure (*vikhyāpana*), banishment (*vivāsana*), and branding (*aṅgakarma*). A Brāhmaṇa deeply versed in the Vedas (*bahuśruta*), we are further told (ibid VIII. 12-13), is to be granted by the king a list of six immunities. These comprise the items (a) he shall not be subject to corporal punishment, (b) he shall not be imprisoned, (c) he shall not be fined, (d) he shall not be exiled, (e) he shall not be reviled, and (f) he shall not be given up. According to Baudhāyana (I. 10. 18. 17-18), the Brāhmaṇa is exempt from corporal punishment for any offence whatever (*abadhyo vai brāhmaṇassarvāparādheṣu*). The Brāhmaṇa, says Viṣṇu (V. i f), is exempt from corporal punishment, the penalty prescribed for him for the greater crimes (*mahāpātakas*) being banishment together with branding of the marks of his crime on his body and that for other capital offences (*badhyakarmāṇi*) being banishment with person and property intact. In contrast with the above, the ascendancy of the Kṣatriyas over the Brāhmaṇas

is the distinctive feature of the society depicted in the early Buddhist canon. The effect of this reversal upon the discriminatory clauses of the penal law in the *Smṛtis* is reflected in a remarkable story of the Pāli canon relating incidentally and therefore quite authentically to the practice prevailing in one of the contemporary States. In *Majjhima Nikāya* (II. 88) a king of Madhurā, addressing the sage Mahākaccāyana, observes that if a Khattiya, a Brāhmaṇa, a Vessa, or a Sudda is a burglar, thief, housebreaker, foot-pad, or adulterer, and if the king's men were to arrest him and bring him up for sentence, the king would put him to death or confiscate his property or banish him or otherwise deal with him as is required by the circumstances. This is justified by the remarkable argument that the offender's former designation as Khattiya etc is now abolished, and that he is merged in the malefactor. In other words, the distinctive immunities of the castes with their very names are nullified by the commission of the criminal act so as to ensure the equality of all in the eye of the law.

U. N. GHOSHAL

## Sātavāhana Coinage

[*An Examination of Rapson's Theory*]

The Andhras or the Sātavāhāna rulers issued coins, mainly in lead, potin and copper and rarely in silver. Their feudatories, known as the Andhrabhṛtyas, also had their own coinage. According to E. J. Rapson, the celebrated numismatist, these species have local, dynastic and personal characteristics. Since this statement was made, a large number of Sātavāhana coins has been discovered. As such, a fresh examination of Rapson's theory seems to be necessary in the light of these discoveries.

The issues either of the Andhras or of the Andhrabhṛtyas were prevalent in all the districts of the empire. But the coins of each district, in the opinion of Rapson, are characterised by some distinctive features. The said scholar advocates the local character of Indian coins. He thinks that even if a particular place is annexed to the dominion of a dynasty of different locality, the kings of the victorious dynasty would issue specimens in the conquered place having all the numismatic characteristics of that place. On the basis of this hypothesis Rapson observes that each conquered province of the Sātavāhana empire possessed its distinctive coinage.<sup>1</sup>

Rapson thinks that a study of the types and peculiarities regarding metal, fabric and form of Andhra coinage may enable one to group them into well-marked varieties, which on further examination may be associated with particular zones.<sup>2</sup>

In the Sātavāhana coinage of Andhradeśa (Kistna and Godavari districts), which can be divided into those of 'fabric A', 'fabric B' and 'uncertain', some distinctive characters may be noticed.<sup>3</sup> The coins of 'fabric A' (metal—lead) bear the type

<sup>1</sup> E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the Bodhi dynasty*, p. clxx

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. clxvi.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. lxxi-lxxix.

“caitya: Ujjain symbol”. The issues of ‘fabric B’ (metal—lead) bear the types, “lion to l.: plain”, “lion r.: caitya (form—square)”, “lion r.: caitya”, “lion facing: plain (square)”, “lion r.: nāga symbol”, “lion r.: Ujjain symbol”, “horse l.: lion r.”, “horse l.: Ujjain symbol”, “horse r.: Ujjain symbol,” “elephant r.: Ujjain symbol,” and “elephant l.: Ujjain symbol.” The types of coins of ‘uncertain’ ascription and fabric, the issuers of which cannot be definitely determined, are “horse l.: uncertain (square)”, “nandipada: nāga symbol” and “caitya: nāga symbol”. It appears to Rapson that the coins of ‘fabric A’ are of a more uniform thickness than those of ‘fabric B’, their obverse device is in lower relief, the characters of their inscriptions are more carefully formed and their size is generally smaller. As several kings have issued coins of both the fabrics, the distinction between them cannot be chronological. So also consideration of the weights shows that the same also cannot be denominational. Thus it can only be local. Rapson states that as the coins of the two classes are frequently found together, it is probable that the districts to which they belong were not far removed from one another.

On the basis of the findspots, metals and forms, Rapson assigns different types to different districts. Thus to the Chanda district (in Rapson’s time it was in C. P., but now in Bombay State) is assigned the type “elephant with trunk upraised: Ujjain symbol” (metal—potin)<sup>4</sup>; to Anantapur and Cuddapah districts of S. India, the type “horse: l. caitya, r. tree” (metal—lead)<sup>5</sup>; to Coromandel coast, the type “ship: Ujjain symbol” (metal—lead)<sup>6</sup>; to Chitaldrug, the type “humped bull: l. tree, r. caitya” (metal—lead)<sup>7</sup>; to Karwar, “caitya: tree” (metal—lead)<sup>8</sup>; to Kolhapur, “caitya and tree: bow and arrow” (metal—lead and potin)<sup>9</sup>; to Nasik region, “caitya: Ujjain symbol” (metal—silver

4 *Ibid.*, p. lxxx.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. lxxxi-lxxxii.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxvi.

5 *Ibid.*, p. lxxxi.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. lxxxii-lxxxiii.

9 *Ibid.*, pp. lxxxvi-lxxxviii.

restruck)<sup>10</sup>; and to Sopara, "bust: caitya and Ujjain symbol" (metal—silver)<sup>11</sup>.

There are certain coins with legend "Raño Siri Sātasa" and the types "uncertain: elephant r., river with fish below" (lead), and "elephant r., above tree within railing, caitya in front, river with fish below: man standing facing, Ujjain symbol l.," (potin)<sup>12</sup>. Smith thought that the "river with fish" and "Ujjain symbol" devices would connect them with the early coins of Eran, Besnagar and Ujjain in Malwa, i. e. with both east and west Malwa.<sup>13</sup> But as they are only round in form, and not square like the coins of Eran and Besnagar in E. Malwa, Rapson likes to place them in W. Malwa region. To the same region Rapson assigns the type "man standing facing, waved line below, tree within railing l. and Ujjain symbol r.: elaborated form of svastika" (lead).

Certain coins, now in the British Museum, can be attributed to the Sātavāhana dynasty on the basis of types and legends. As they were collected by Bhagavanlal Indrajī, a scholar of Western India, they were probably issued in that region. These species can be divided into two groups. The first group comprising of the types "l. tree, r. Ujjain symbol: elephant l, svastika and river with fish symbols" (square, potin), "elephant r.: l. Ujjain symbol, r. tree" (square, copper), "lion l.: l. tree, r. Ujjain symbol" (square, copper)", and "lion r.: l. Ujjain symbol, r. tree" (square, potin) is ascribed by Rapson to E. Malwa, as river with fish and svastika in the first type and fishes in the third type have striking similarity with the devices on the coins of Eran (E. Malwa).<sup>14</sup> These types are to be located probably in Besnagar. 'Group B' com-

10 *Ibid.*, pp. lxxxviii-lxxxix.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. lxxxix-xci.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. xcii-xciv, p. 1.

13 See V. A. Smith's articles published in the *ZDMG*, 1902 & 1903.

14 E. J. Rapson, *CCADWK.*, pp. xciv-xcvi.



prising of the type "elephant r: tree" (round, potin; and square, copper) cannot, however, be definitely located.<sup>15</sup>

In this way Rapson has tried to localise the different issues of the Andhra and Andhrabhṛtya coinage. But since the publication of his *Catalogue* several new coins have been discovered, the evidence of which makes one somewhat critical about Rapson's rigid classification. Types, assigned by Rapson to certain localities, are now found to occur in other regions, to each of which the same scholar has ascribed certain other devices. Thus "elephant: Ujjain symbol" type of imperial coinage, assigned to the Chanda district and Andhradeśa, has now been found in Kolhapur, to which is generally attributed "caitya and tree: bow and arrow" type of Kura coins.<sup>16</sup> The same "elephant: Ujjain symbol" type has been discovered along with the "humped bull: l. tree, r. caitya" type of Mahārāṭhi coins during excavation in the Chitaldrug district. In the same place, where Rapson localises the Mahārāṭhi coins, have been unearthed coins of Cuṭukaḍānanda, generally assigned to Karwar region.<sup>17</sup> So also "ship: Ujjain symbol" type, which has been taken to belong to the Coromandel coast, has come from Andhradeśa.<sup>18</sup>

Sometimes new types are discovered in a locality to which Rapson has attributed certain other devices. For example, we may refer to "horse to r., female figure in front: tree within railing to l., caitya with crescent above to r., and solar symbol in the middle" (lead) type discovered in Andhradeśa.<sup>19</sup> And again certain previously known types are found to occur in places which were unknown to Rapson. It has been observed that the Sātavāhana imitations of the Kṣatrapa type, viz. "bust: caitya and Ujjain symbol", are only of the Sopara fabric. Rapson knew such a type only of Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. But

15 *Ibid.*, p. xcvi.

16 *Numismatic Supplement*, vol. XLII, p. 31.

17 *Ancient India*, vol. IV, pp. 291 & 293.

18 *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. III, pp. 43ff.

19 *JNSI*, vol. XIV, p. 17.

later discoveries have revealed coins of this type belonging to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḥumāvi found at Bhilsa,<sup>20</sup> of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi discovered at a new site,<sup>21</sup> and of Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi procured at Besnagar,<sup>22</sup> Tewar<sup>23</sup> and Bheraghat.

The well-known "elephant: Ujjain symbol" type (square and rectangular; copper, round and lead) has been unearthed in the Kondapur region of the Central Deccan,<sup>24</sup> a place not known to Rapson as yielding Andhra coin. The same type has also been discovered in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad,<sup>25</sup> Again, from Hyderabad region has come the "caitya or hill: Ujjain symbol" type (lead).<sup>26</sup> Coins of new metal and types are found at places some of which were not previously known to have yielded any Andhra coin. Thus a new type (caitya: Ujjain symbol) of silver coin, probably of Śrī Yajña, has been procured at Ujjain.<sup>27</sup> Another new type (Ujjain symbol: hill or caitya, fish, river and hill, tree in railing) (square, lead) comes from Jubbulpore district.<sup>28</sup> In Satara district, to which Rapson does not assign any coin, is discovered an issue having the devices "lion to l: r. tree in railing, l. caitya" (lead). The type is a new one if obverse and reverse devices are taken together.<sup>29</sup>

Without furnishing further data, it may thus be observed that there can be no hard and fast rule regarding occurrences of certain types at fixed places and nowhere else. The overwhelming evidences, cited above, lend a great plausibility to such a conclusion, even if some allowances are made for coins of one place travelling to another. Nevertheless, the local affinity of different types, as has been shown by Rapson's study and later discoveries, cannot be denied altogether. Actually, the correct-

20 *JNSI.*, vol. XIV, pp. 1ff.

21 *JNSI.*, vol. XI, pp. 59ff.

22 *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1913-14, p. 213.

23 *JNSI.*, vol. XII, p. 126.

24 *JNSI.*, vol. VII, p. 1; vol. VIII, pp. 22 & 117.

25 *JNSI.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 218-219.

26 *JNSI.*, vol. XIII, p. 132.

27 *JNSI.*, vol. VIII, pp. 111-113; vol. IX, pp. 93-94; vol. X, pp. 22-24.

28 *JNSI.*, vol. XIII, p. 35ff.

29 *NS.*, vol. XLVI, pp. 15-17.

ness of Rapson's placing of potin coins of "elephant: Ujjain symbol" type in the Chanda district region is proved by the discovery of coins of the same type and metal at Tarhala in the nearby Akola district.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, the great variety observable in the numismatic records of the Sātavāhanas indicates certain local affinity, though not a rigid local character.

As has been pointed out, the Sātavāhana rulers as well as their feudatories used several devices. Of the symbols occurring in the imperial coinage, some seem to be more or less constant. They appear on coins of many kings and on issues of different provinces. Thus they cannot have any local significance, but should be considered to be dynastic types.<sup>31</sup> Most important of them is the so called Ujjain symbol (generally surmounted by a crescent or nandipada device). It is almost a permanent mark of the Sātavāhana coinage, and occurs only on the imperial and not on the feudatory series.<sup>32</sup> Thus Rapson has rightly considered it to be an emblem of the Andhras,—the Andhras proper as opposed to the Andhrabhṛtyas.<sup>33</sup> The "caitya" or "hill" symbol should be considered next. Though it appears on certain coins of the feudatories, including those of the Ānandas of Karwar (Cuṭus according to Rapson), its frequent occurrences on the issues of different Sātavāhana kings and of provinces would also justify its place among the dynastic symbols.<sup>34</sup> The fact that elephant occurs, as the new discoveries show, on the coins of many provinces of the Sātavāhana realm, excepting on the known feudatory coins, tempts one to suggest that this device was also a dynastic emblem.

The "tree within railing and caitya" device occurs on the

<sup>30</sup> *JNSI.*, vol. II, pp. 83f.

<sup>31</sup> E. J. Rapson, *CCADWK.*, p. clxvi.

<sup>32</sup> This should be the conclusion, if the roundish lead coin of Śara- (ja)śacarakama with the type "lion to 1: Ujjain symbol and a tree in railing within a square border," which is found at Kondapur (*JNSI.*, vol. XI, p. 86), is not taken into account. Mirashi, however, thinks that this may or may not be an issue of a Sātavāhana Feudatory.

<sup>33</sup> E. J. Rapson *CCADWK.*, p. clxviii.      <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. clxvi-clxvii.

coins of the Mahārāṭhis<sup>35</sup> and the Kura rulers (in different positions), the first definitely and the latter probably being Sātavāhana feudatories. The said type also appears on the coins of Muḍānanda and Cuṭukaḍānanda of Karwar, whom Rapson ascribes to the family of Cuṭu Sātakarṇis. These rulers, however, did not use the "caitya and tree" on one side, but depicted them respectively on the obverse and reverse of their coins. As the type concerned is found generally on the issues of these classes of feudatories, it might have been the family symbol of each of them, or at least a symbol of the Sātavāhana feudatory class. Rapson doubts whether the type "tree within railing in association with caitya" can be regarded as a distinctive emblem of the Cuṭus, because tree within railing or caitya often occurs in the Sātavāhana coinage together with the Ujjain symbol.<sup>36</sup> This however is not an insuperable objection. For, as he himself has said, caitya or tree and Ujjain symbol might have occurred together, because the Cuṭus were the viceroys of the Andhras. Moreover, this type occurs casually in the imperial coinage, but invariably on the issues of these three classes of feudatories. So, even if it cannot be characterised as their distinctive emblem due to its appearance on all the three classes of coins, it may be regarded as a general family symbol of each one of them, or at least as the symbol of the feudatory class.

It may be pointed out here that the type under consideration is also found on the reverse of certain lead coins of Anantapur and Cuddapah districts. They are doubtfully assigned by Rapson to the family of Cuṭu Sātakarṇis. But as Y. R. Gupte has confidently ascribed them to Vāsiṭhiputa Hātakaṇi<sup>37</sup>, it is

35 The Mahārāṭhi coins generally have humped bull on the obverse. But a round lead coin of Mahārāṭhi Sivaka(ṭa)ṇa has caitya on the obverse and tree on the reverse. The said specie has been discovered in the Khammammet district of Andhra State (*JNSI.*, vol. XIX, p. 184), and not in the Chitaldrug district, where the Mahārāṭhi coins are usually found.

36 E. J. Rapson, *CCADWK.*, p. clxviii.

37 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XL, p. 59.

difficult to come to any definite conclusion on this point. Another type, *viz.* “bow with string downwards, fitted with arrow pointing upwards,” occurs only and invariably as a reverse device on the coins of the Kura rulers of Kolhapur. It might have been their distinctive dynastic emblem.

It thus seems that the imperial Sātavāhana dynasty and some of its feudatory families, including those of the Mahārāṭhis of Chitaldrug district, the Ānandas (or Cuṭu family) of Karwar region and the Kuras of Kolhapur area, had certain family symbols which characterised their respective coinages.

Some personal traits may also be traced in the imperial Sātavāhana coinage. Thus the depiction of the busts on silver coins of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi, Vāśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi may be regarded as the personal devices of the respective kings.

When Rapson wrote his *Catalogue*, it was known that the change from the “horse” obv. to the “elephant” obv. in Andhradeśa (district of ‘fabric B’) and also the introduction of “caitya of six arches surmounted by a crescent” in place of “caitya of three arches” in the obv. type in Andhradeśa (district of ‘fabric A’) took place during the reign of Śrī Yajña (he used both the varieties of caityas)<sup>38</sup>. So it could have been presumed that these modifications of types were due to the personal likings of Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. But as Dr. Rama Rao has now shown that both “elephant” and “six arched (and ten arched) caitya” devices were introduced in Andhradeśa by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi,<sup>39</sup> a predecessor of Śrī Yajña, it should be considered that these changes reflect the personal trait in the issues of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. The selection of these types for circulation in Andhradeśa depended on the wills of this sovereign or on those of the authorities of his mint.

Altekar ascribes a silver coin of “caitya: Ujjain symbol” type to Śrī Yajña.<sup>40</sup> If the ascription is correct, it can be

38 E. J. Rapson, *CCADWK.*, p. clxvi.

39 *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1953, p. 38.

40 *JNSI.*, vol. VIII, pp. 111-113.

observed that by depicting on silver coin a type usually impressed on copper and potin issues, Śrī Yajña displayed his personal likings.

The above discussion shows that in some of the imperial Sātavāhana species may be noticed a few personal characteristics. So also on several Andhra and Andhrabhṛtya issues can be found dynastic devices.<sup>41</sup> And finally, general local affinity, though not rigid localisation, may be detected in the different varieties of coins of the Sātavāhanas and their feudatories. Thus certain points in Rapson's statement are strengthened by the evidences of new materials, cited above, whereas some other aspects of his theory should be modified in the light of fresh discoveries.

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41 Here we may refer to certain other dynastic traits. The "humped bull" device generally occurs on the coins of the Mahārāṭhis. No doubt certain lead coins of Western India, attributed to the Sātavāhana period, bear 'standing bull' on the obverse (*CCADWK*, pp. 54-55); but they cannot be attributed to any group or person due to absence of legend. So among the coins of this period, assigned to definite groups, the "humped bull" device occurs only on the Mahārāṭhi series, (excepting on the specie of Mahārāṭhi Sivaka(ṭa)ṇa). Thus this type may be a general dynastic emblem of the Mahārāṭhis.

It may be that the legends "Cuṭukaḍānanda" and "Muḍānanda," mentioned above in connection with the Ānanda rulers of Karwar, mean 'joy of the city of the Cuṭus' or 'joy of the family of the Cuṭus' and 'joy of the Muḍas or Muṇḍas'. If so, here we may find references to certain families. In that case, however, it should be admitted that the two legends allude to two different families, i.e. the Cuṭus and Muḍas. In this way dynastic traits can be traced in these legends. But as the type, fabric and provenances of the coins concerned indicate their affinity to the same family, it is better to take these legends as indicating specific kings, if not their personal names.

## MISCELLANY

### The Role of the Satra Institution in Assam

Like other states of India Assam too played its part in shaping the history of India and contributing to her development in the fields of religion and philosophy, art and literature, education and learning. The advent of Neo-Vaiṣṇavism in about the middle of the 14th century and with it the advent of the Satra institution contributed a good deal to the socio-religious development of the country as a whole. The Satra occupied a large place in the cultural and economic life of the people.\*

In the earlier stages the word 'satra' was used to denote a place of religious gathering. In the words of Bhaṭṭa Deva<sup>1</sup> 'Where ardent devotees perform duties pleasing to God, where ninefold *bhakti* prevails, that supreme place adorned by Gods and Vaiṣṇavas is called a Satra. Vaiṣṇavas residing there are naturally prone to Hari nāma' :

Yatrācaranti saddharmān kevalā Bhagavata priyāḥ  
Navadhā Bhagavadbhaktir pratyahaṁ yatra varṭtate.  
Tad-satraṁ uttamaṁ kṣetraṁ vaiṣṇava-sura-vanditaṁ  
Tatrasthā-vaiṣṇavāḥ sarve Hari nāma parāyaṇāḥ.

The general description of the satra is very well brought out in the following quotation: 'The building in which the holy book is placed on the pedestal or the image is installed, for the purpose of worship is known as the Maṇi-kūṭa and the big house in front of it where Kīrtana is held or drama is performed, is known as the Kīrtanghar ; and the combination of the two is known by the general term Nāmghar. In a permanent

\* The writer is grateful to Dr. B. K. Barua for his kind and ungrudging help.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Ram Dev Goswamy in the introduction to *Prasaṅga Māla* by Bhaṭṭa Dēva.

institution a large number of devotees stay within or near the precincts of the Nāmghar in separate huts, constructed in rows on all the four sides. These rows are known as the Hātis. The whole institution is known by the term Satra.<sup>2</sup>

The Satra is exclusively a Vaiṣṇavite institution modelled on the Buddhist Vihāra, although some scholars think that the great Vaiṣṇava shrines and the residential institution supplied the inspiration. It should be noted, however, that Buddhism produced far reaching effects on the orthodox religions. If Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva Bhakti cults developed and stressed devotion to a personal God, and rejected animal sacrifices and ritualism, it was because of the influence of Buddhism. We may also notice that Śrī Śaṅkara Deva waged a life long crusade against the then prevailing Tāntricism. It is quite reasonable to suppose that Śrī Śaṅkara Deva had in his mind the Buddhist monastic system to attract people to swell his ranks. The word Saran used in the initiation of a neophyte is in conformity with the words 'saraṇaṃ gacchāmi' used in the initiation of a Buddhist bhikṣu.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the origin of the Satra is to be traced in the Buddhist monastery.

The moral enrichment of Assamese life was due to the Satras. Morality is regarded as necessarily religious and religion as necessarily moral. Since ethics is regarded as divinely inspired, the question of right or wrong does not arise. This peculiar merging of religion and ethics is a feature which the Vaiṣṇavism of Assam shares with the general movement of Indian religious thought.

Religion is a spiritual realisation of God by every person, irrespective of social distinctions. With this in view the Satras removed the barriers of caste and taught and preached universal brotherhood. Also they inveighed against caste system and religious customs alike. Their contribution towards a purer conception of the Deity and better social organisation is valuable.

2 *The Cultural Heritage of India*, vol. iv, p. 209.

3 K. L. Barua : *The Early History of Kāmarūpa*.



They tried to create a new grouping of men united by a common religious impulse. For instance, Śrī Śaṅkara Deva recognised the spiritual equality of all people. Brahmins, Sudras and Parihas were to have equal liberty in matters of worship, devotion and chanting of the name of the Lord. 'Why need one be a Brahmin;' says Śrī Śaṅkara Deva, 'to recite devoutly the name of Kṛṣṇa?' He might be a Caṇḍāla, but he is far superior to any man who is not attached to the name of Hari.'<sup>4</sup> Vaiṣṇavism with its Satras preached humanism and respected human virtues. 'Indeed' says Dr. S. N. Sharma, 'it is a no mean achievement of the Vaiṣṇava movement to turn the land of Kāmarūpa famous from the earliest times as the stronghold of Tāntricism and Śaktism into a predominatingly Vaiṣṇavite land.'<sup>5</sup>

The Satras also served as a court of justice. As the guardians of morality they kept a vigilant eye on their disciples. According to their teaching every village was to have a common hall for congregational prayer. These are units under a central Satra. These halls served the purposes of village arbitration boards and village courts as also of local boards for the decision of petty cases and questions of public interest. Thus the Satra institution, with Nāmghar as its offshoot in villages, has been not only responsible to a great extent in keeping up the moral tone of society but also contributed towards the maintenance of peace and order by providing a suitable forum for the villagers.<sup>6</sup>

The Satras were also great educational institutions. The Satras maintained Ṭols and Pāṭhaśālas and imparted education to the people at large. Most of the religious preachers were also teachers. In the curriculum of studies was included the Vaiṣṇava lore, Vyākaraṇa and Kāvya. By educating the masses they removed prejudices and made people more reasonable and considerate. They strengthened their moral nature and enabled them to withstand the temptations of life.

4 Dr. B. Kakati; *Caitanya to Vivekānanda*, p. 55.

5 Dr. S. N. Sharma: *The Neo-Vaiṣṇavite Movement and the Satra Institution of Assam*, pp. 254-255.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 256-257.

Religion as a culture survives in the hearts of men; but literature as a vehicle of the expression of religion depends upon patronage. In many periods of history, the efflorescence of literature has depended to a great extent on patronage. Therefore, early Assamese religious literature is practically a product of the Satras. For exposition of the Bhakti cult Śrī Śaṅkara Deva composed many lyrics in Assamese including the parts of Bhāgavata and six dramas in Vrajabuli. He composed all his works in the vernacular of the people.<sup>7</sup> His celebrated successor, Śrī Mādhava Deva followed on the footprints of his Guru and contributed his share to literary productions. The result was the prolific growth of literature on various subjects such as Kāvya, Theology, Music, Drama etc.

As Dr. S. N. Sharma admirably puts it: 'The cultivation of the musical art in mediaeval Assam was assiduously carried on in the Satras. It is the Satra institution that helped to keep its purity intact as far as possible.'<sup>8</sup> The development of musical art in turn paved the way for the systematisation of the classical school of dance in Assam, its motive being religious.

The Satra gave scope to the talent of artists. It was also a great employer. Painters and artisans flourished under the patronage of the Satra. Paintings on the ceilings of Nāmgharas and Maṇikūṭṣ particularly of the Barpeta Satra are a standing testimony to the patronage of art and painting by the Satras. In short they gave an impetus to the artistic faculty of the Assamese artisan.

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7 Dr. B. Kakati: *Caitanya to Vivekānanda*: p. 57.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 277.

## Ramshastrī

### *A Re-valuation*

In view of the abundant material pertaining to the Maratha history that has come to light in the form of Peshwa Daftars and other historical documents during the last few decades, it has become necessary to reevaluate the lives and re-assess the achievements of some of the notable personalities who played important roles in the history of Marathas. An attempt is made here to have a brief review of the life of Ramshastrī.

On the ancestry of Ramshastrī little is known from the historical records available. He had his ancestral home at Mahuli ( dist. Satara ). His exact birth date is not known but is supposed to be some time between 1715 and 1720. According to the traditional accounts he began his career with the Peshwas as a शागिर्द (domestic attendant). The earliest reference to him is in a document dated 1st October 1739 wherein he is referred to as a dependent of the Peshwa family drawing a monthly salary of rupees forty.<sup>1</sup>

He was taken up in the council of lawyers (शास्त्री मण्डल) of the Department of Justice (धर्मखर्त) in 1751.<sup>2</sup> On the death of Balkrishna Shastri Gadgil the Chief Justice of Marathas in 1759, Ramshastrī was appointed in his place. He held this office till death with only a short break during the regime of Raghunath Balaji Peshwa. As the Chief Justice of the Marathas he was given a salary of Rs. 2000/- per annum and in addition a palanquin allowance.<sup>3</sup>

Ramshastrī was held in high esteem and regard by the Peshwa especially by Madhavrao. In a letter informing Ramshastrī about his victory over Hyder Ali, Madhavrao refers to himself as his disciple.<sup>4</sup> Madhavrao paid to Ramshastrī a sum of Rs. 5000/- to enable him to liquidate his debts in 1767.<sup>5</sup> We find another

1 Peshwa Diary, XXII—137.

2 *Itihās Saṁgraha*, vol. III, p. 186.

3 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 14.

4 Khare: *Aitihāsik Lekh Saṁgraha*, III—564.

5 Peshwa Diary: Madhavrao, vol. II, p. 632.

reference to a payment of Rs. 15000/- to Ramshastri in the year 1785-86 for payment of his debts.<sup>6</sup> No documentary or other evidence has so far been found throwing light on the circumstances that led to his involvement in such heavy debts. But the fact that the Peshwas helped him with such large amounts to pay his debts shows in what high esteem he was held by them. A further proof of the high regard and esteem Madhavrao held for Ramshastri is found in the fact that the latter was one of the few persons called by Madhavrao at Theur while on his death bed.<sup>7</sup>

After the treacherous murder of Narayan Rao Peshwa, it was Ramshastri who had the courage to denounce Raghunathrao for his complicity in the affair. As the traditional account goes he passed the sentence of death on Raghunathrao for the heinous crime and walked away relinquishing his post.<sup>8</sup> On the successful consummation of the Barbhai Plot he was called back by the Maratha statesmen to Purandar where the infant Peshwa was with his mother,<sup>9</sup> and within a short time reinstated in the office of the Chief Justice.<sup>10</sup> Ramshastri seems to have shown some hesitation in accepting the office again on account of his bitter experience of the past, and accepted it only after an express undertaking on solemn oath having been given to him by Sakharam Bapu and Nana Fadnis, the de-facto regents of the infant Peshwa, to the effect, that they would not interfere with the administration of justice.<sup>11</sup> This solemn undertaking seems to have been faithfully carried out for he continued to serve as the Chief Justice of the Marathas till his death which took place on 25th October 1789.<sup>12</sup>

Grant Duff gives an estimate of the character and personality of Ramshastri in glowing terms.<sup>13</sup> Ramshastri has been regarded as an embodiment of all the high moral qualities such as upright-

6 Itihās Samgraha, vol. III, p. 188.

7 Purandare Daftar, vol. III, p. 123.

8 Sohohi: Peshwyanchi Bakhar, p. 116.

9 Peshwa Diary: V—49.

11 Ibid., 54, 58.

10 Ibid., 54.

12 Rajwade: vol. VI, p. 459.

13 Grant Duff: Vol. II, p. 208.

ness, impartiality and incorruptibility which must exist in a person holding the scales of justice. Attempts, however, seem to have been made to sully his character by making insinuations of corruptibility against him.<sup>14</sup> We come across an allegation against Ramshastri of yielding to influence in a case of ex-communication.<sup>15</sup> Ramshastri was however always held by his masters to be above corruption or any other low practices.<sup>16</sup>

The judgments and decisions of Ramshastri exemplifying his high learning, legal acumen and common-sense were admirable.<sup>17</sup>

A struggle was going on at this time between the Brahmins and Prabhus regarding the Kṣatriyahood of the Prabhus. Some Brahmins of Poona looked upon the Prabhus as Sūdras. The matter was referred to Ramshastri, who after wading through a mass of Sanadas etc. gave his decision in the teeth of the Brahmin opposition in favour of the Prabhus as Kṣatriyas and as eligible for all the Saṁskāras of the twice-born.<sup>18</sup>

Ramshastri besides his function as an administrator of justice appears to have played a role as an elderly statesman in the Peshwa regime. He was one of the panchas appointed for investigating the affair of the impostor. This was rather an affair of the state and not a judicial inquiry and the part assigned to Ramshastri in it supports my above statement.<sup>19</sup>

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14 Khare: *Āitihāsik Lekha Saṁgraha*, vol. II, p. 482.

15 Peshwa Diary: XLIII, 164.

16 *Ibid.*, 132.

17 *Ibid.*, 50, 56, 107, 125, 140, 142, 151, 153.

18 S. M. Nayak: *History of the Pathare Prabhus*, p. 57.

19 Khare: *Ādhikāryog*, p. 47.

## REVIEWS

THE EARLY RULERS OF KHAJURAHO by Dr. Sisir Kuman Mitra, M.A., LL. B., D. Phil., published by K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1958 pp. i-xiii, 1-253.

This treatise is a history of the Candellas of Bundelkhand (ancient Jejakabhukti). It is the result of a hard study by Dr. Sisir Kumar Mitra who devoted more than six years' labour in collecting, assessing and then presenting in a logical form all the requisite materials for the production of this work. The sources he ransacked for materials are archaeological, literary and works of Muslim writers and chroniclers.

Students of history know that the Candellas of Jejakabhukti became a great imperial power, ruling in Bundelkhand for more than four hundred years, trying in all stages to oppose the Muslim aggression. Dr. Mitra's object in writing this history was "to gather in one place all the information that could be compiled from the different sources and study it carefully." We may, with confidence, state that he has fulfilled his object.

This book consists of fourteen chapters and four appendices. In the first ten chapters Dr. Mitra has dealt with the political history of the Candella rulers in stages and divisions of his own making. Scholars will no doubt appreciate Dr. Mitra's able discussion on the topics—(1) Struggles of the Candella conflicts, and Cāhamān—Candella rivalry. It is quite natural for Dr. Mitra in these discussions to have raised many controversial issues and problems, solutions of all which could not be expected from him or any other scholar with the present materials in our hands; but it must be said to the credit of this writer that he has attempted to tackle them with reason and judgment. It may be said that Dr. Mitra's judgment on facts and criticism of previous scholars' views is careful and sober. The presentation of facts has been accomplished by Dr. Mitra very systematically. It must be conceded that no critical

historian can accept in toto the views of his predecessors and so Dr. Mitra could not always agree with the views of the Muslim writers of old on many points raised in his book, but he has given his reasons clearly for his disagreement with them. To us it is really a great relief to mark that Dr. Mitra has not shown any bias while writing on the achievements of the rulers described and referred to by him. Of late there has been a very unhealthy tendency even among writers of great repute, not only here in Bengal but also outside, to make heroes of their favourite historical figures by exaggerating their merits and minimising their demerits, thus exceeding the legitimate duties of a historian whose only effort should be directed to seek the historical truth, good, bad, or indifferent. Dr. Mitra may be congratulated for not showing any such weakness.

History, really so called, should not treat political events only of a particular period, but it should also pry into the conditions of the people under any king's or dynasty's rule. So it is quite a satisfaction to find Dr. Mitra dealing in the last four chapters with matters of Administration (Chapt. XI), Social and Economic conditions in the particular part of India (Chap. XII), Religion of the Princes and the People (Chap. XIII) and Art and Architecture (Chap. XIV). The way in which Dr. Mitra has culled his materials mostly from the epigraphic records and architectural monuments for writing these chapters bespeak his industrious study and research. These materials have been neatly arranged by the author. From chapter XIV, though a smaller one, we have a very good idea of the artistic resurgence during the rule of the Candella dynasty, which owed its being to the lavish patronage of the Khajurāho rulers on the sculptors and architects. The beautiful illustrations of temples and other architecture will help keen students to grasp the technique of the art of the late mediaeval period in India.

As regards the four Appendices, they are all very important and valuable. Appendix I, which gives a list of the inscriptions of the Candella times, will be a helpful guide to the future researchers. Appendix II furnishes a revised genealogical table

of the rulers of the Candella dynasty. The Bibliography (Appendix IV) is of great value to scholars working on the history of the period. But the list of Abbreviations which forms Appendix III should have been placed in the beginning of the book and not at its end. The Map of the Candella territory is excellent.

It is regrettable that there are mistakes in some of the Sanskrit quotations and that there are also certain omissions of proper diacritical marks in the quotations.

However, we should congratulate Dr. Mitra for this excellent literary contribution to the study of Indian history.

The printing and get-up of this book may be unreservedly said as superb.

RADHAGOBINDA BASAK



THE PARIJĀTAHARAṆAM of Kavikarṇapūra, edited with introduction by Prof. Anantalal Thakur and published by the Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, Darbhanga, 1957.

THE KĀVYALAKṢAṆAM (KĀVYĀDARŚA) of Daṇḍin with *Ratnasrī* of Ratnaśrījñāna of Ceylon. Edited with introduction and appendices by Prof. Anantalal Thakur and Prof. Upendra Jha and published by the Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, Darbhanga, 1957.

The first work is a readable and interesting *mahākāvya* hitherto unpublished and affords important evidence of kāvya composition in the late mediaeval period. It is chaste, lucid, in proper proportion and of the traditional pattern but unaffected by the trammels of pedantry and ultralogical expression which had seized scholastic writers of the period. The introduction supplies fairly good information about the work, its author and the story round which it is composed. The remark of the editor that 'the work hardly presents anything which may connect the author with the *Vaiṣṇavas*' (of course, of Bengal) is quite true. The solitary use of the expression *Śiva Śiva* proves nothing. It is not a monopoly of Kavikarṇapūra Paramananda Sena, for the great Rūpa Gosvāmin uses it, and its counterpart '*Hari Hari*' is frequently met with in the works of Rūpa and Jīva. There are some palpable drawbacks of the author—e.g. verbosity, copying of ideas and of plan of procedure in a continued chain, fondness for certain mannerisms and archaisms, a tedious leaning to certain words (*udāram*, *anuvelam* etc.) and weak forms with *su* as prefix and *vāra* as suffix. The emendations which are mostly apt and wise, should have been inserted in the foot-notes with queries.

The second work is a welcome addition to the commentarial literature on the *Alaṃkāraśāstra* dealing with one of its well known classics. Being an early work (not the earliest one, as the commentary itself proves), it has that additional freshness and authoritative value which only early commentaries in a growing literature can have for themselves. The editors have taken

great pains in presenting the text of the commentary which was a difficult job seeing that there was only one and that too, corrupt manuscript available. The commentator's characterisation of his work as *arthapradhāna* and *arthānvaya* is appropriate, though it has got to be admitted that this has been both a qualification and a disqualification. The student of the *Sāstra* would have reaped greater benefit if he was furnished with satisfactory proofs of the commentary being earlier than that by Vādījāṅhala, which, by the by, refers to the *Daśarūpaka*. Of the variants in the text of this popular manual, which are often lost sight of—and there are no less than one hundred and fifty (—the major ones are in pp. 13, 26, 43, 68, 96, 160, 248, 261 and 270) should have been distinctly noted in a separate appendix. One oversight in this matter is noticeable and that is in giving a variant in the text portion, which is not the reading adopted by the commentator.

A fastidious critic would have insisted on extra-editorial notes by way of discussion (as on the topics in I. 50; I. 89; II. 13; II. 173; II. 195; II. 361-3; III. 150 and III. 170).

The printing mistakes in both the volumes should have been carefully avoided.

The two publications speak well of the editors who have accomplished their tasks with honesty, patience and scrupulous care.

SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYYA

- LUDWIK STERNBACH—*The Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra and the Brhaspatīsamhitā of the Garuḍa Purāṇa*. The correlation of the stanzas found in the Br. S. of G. P. the C. S. and the Brhaspati Smṛti is examined and discussed in full detail here.
- P. K. GODE—*Some Further Notes on the History of Kite-Flying in India and Outside—Between B. C. 500 and A. D. 1956*. This paper confining itself to the Indian sources posterior to the 13th century A. D. brings within its purview the study of the history of kite-flying in a larger sphere.
- BUDDHA PRAKASH—*Candra Gupta Maurya in the Shāh-Nāmā of Firdausi*. According to the present scholar, Firdausi's picture of the king, together with his disrespect for the wise, fits in with the framework of the history of the last Nanda King. Kaid is identified with Candra Gupta. The story of Candra Gupta Maurya found its way into Persia and then Firdausi clothed the dry facts of history in an epic garb.
- R. C. HAZRA—*The Interpretation and History of Two Ancient Vedic Gāthās, and their Social and Political Interest*. These are the two Gāthās, given in full in some of the Gṛhya-sūtras and referred to briefly in some others, which are recited in connection with the ceremony of Sīmantonayana (i.e. the parting of a wife's hair by her husband during the former's first conception). The present scholar shows that this custom passed through three main stages and that this ceremony was originally meant chiefly for ensuring the birth of a number of heroic and prosperous sons of royal distinction and the necessary fecundity of the mother.
- WALTER RUBEN—*The Beginning of the Epic Sāṃkhya*. This paper deals with the historical problem of the nature and origin of the Epic Sāṃkhya. In the 4th cent. B.C., a short while after Kauṭilya, Sāṃkhya began as the first Brāhmaṇical School of Philosophy.
- V. B. MISHRA—*Social Condition of India during the Early Mediaeval Period as Gleaned from Epigraphs and Accounts of the Muslim Travellers*.

- C. D. CHATTERJEE—*Studies in the Inscriptions of Aśoka, No 1*  
(c) *Edict of Aśoka on the Public Benefactions of Queen Cāruvākī (the So-called Queen's Edict)*.
- RADHAKRISHNA CHOUDHARY—*Heretical Sects in the Purāṇas*.  
In this study it is brought out that the Purāṇas tried to strengthen orthodox system against the heretical sects of Buddhism, Jainism, Ājīvikism, Śaivism, Bhāgavatism, and Vaiṣṇavism. Description of the Pāṣaṇḍas, the Kāpālikas and the Lokāyatikas are given. A reference to the system of tree-worship in the Purāṇas is also given.
- D. S. TRIVEDA—*Magadhan Chronology Pre-Mauryan*.
- Y. R. GUPTA—*The Development of Makara or Crocodile in Architecture from the 4th or the 5th century A. D. to the Modern Times or the 12th or the 13th century A. D.*
- V. M. APTE—*Vajra in the R̥gveda*. According to the writer Vajra of Indra is not thunderbolt but a 'stable metallic weapon', and Indra is the God of light.
- INDUKALA H. JHAVERI—*The Concept of Ākāśa in Indian Philosophy*. Three stages of the concept of Ākāśa are discussed here. In the first stage it is looked upon as an independent eternal substance functioning as the receptacle of all things (in Jainism and early Buddhism). In the second stage it loses its originality as an independent substance and comes to occupy the subordinate position of a *janya*—produced substance (in the Vedānta and the Sāṃkhya-Yoga systems). In the last stage it develops into a purely mental concept losing its substantial character as well as its positive aspects.
- N. G. CHAPKER—*Rakṣas*.

**Bulletin of the Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan, no. 4, (Aug. '57)**

- J. T. PARIKH—*The Humour of the Vidūṣaka* (contd.)
- A. D. SHASTRI—*Virāṭaparvan—A Study*. The scholar tries to unfold the solar nature of the story contained in the V. P. of the MBh. Arjuna is identified with the sun, the Kīcakas and the Kauravas with the forces of darkness. The sun (Arjuna) journeys north-wards (Arjuna—Uttara) and destroys

darkness. He fertilizes the Earth in his youthful form (Abhimanyu—Uttarā). This yearly phenomenon is said to have been celebrated as the victory of the powers of light over those of darkness.

HIRALAL R. KAPADIA—*Gujarati Illustration of Letter-Diagrams.*

**Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture,**  
vol. IX, no. 1 (Jan. '58)

HEM CHANDRA RAY CHAUDHURI—*Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Social Organization.* This paper concludes with the view that the 'higher thought' of the country in ancient times looked upon the *Varna* system of ancient India as a code of social and socio-ethical discipline, its basis being *guṇa-karma* or *vr̥ttā* or spiritual quality and conduct and not merely the birth or ceremonial correctitude.

**Calcutta Review,** vol. 145, no. 2, (Nov. '57)

P. S. SASTRI—*The Nature of the Universal.*

JYOTIRMAY ROY—*History of Manipur.*

JANAKI BALLABHA BHATTACHARYYA—*Nyāya-Mañjari*—vol II (31)  
(contd.).

**Journal of the Annamalai University,**  
vol. XXI, pt. A—Humanity, (57)

D. I. JESUDOSS—*The Four Saiva Samayachairias—A Study.*  
(contd.).

M. SHANMUGAM—*Administration and Politics of the Ancient Tamils as Reflected in Silappathikaram.*

**Journal Asiatique,** vol. CCXLIV, Fasc. no. 4 ('56)

G. DUMEZIL—*Noms Mythiques Indo-Iraniens dans le folklore des Osses (Mythical Indo-Iranian Names in Ossetic Folklore).*

L. RENOU—*Études Pāṇinéennes (IV et V) (Pāṇinian Studies, IV and V).*

**Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,**  
vol. XXIX, pt. 3, (Aug., '56)

G. R. TIBBETTS—*Pre-Islamic Arabia and South-East Asia.*

**Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,**  
pts. 3 & 4 ('57)

- H. D. SANKALIA—*Imported Mediterranean Amphorae from Kolhapur*. The fabric of these fragments of Kolhapur amphorae handles is gritty pink, or pale red, having an olive green appearance. They are assigned to about the 1st cent. A. D. This is the 3rd site in India (the other two sites being Taxila and Arikamedu) to have definite relics of a trade connection with the Mediterranean world.
- H. D. SANKALIA and S. B. DEO—*Saddle Querns and Stratigraphy*. Four legged querns found at Narda Toli in Central India are assigned to B.C. 400 to 100., and the ones found at Maheswar (Central India) are dated between 100 B.C. and 100. A.D.
- S. PARANAVITANA—*The Panākaduva Copper-plate of Vijayabahu I.*
- D. DUNCAN M. DERRETT—*The Tālavanas: Another Key to the Age of a Part of the Mahābhārata*. In the passage II. 28. 48 (and in some other passages also) of the *MBh*, mentions are found of Tālavana (Tālavanapura) which, according to the present author, stands for the South Deccan. It is further concluded here that this particular reference can be dated not earlier than 500 A.D., nor later than 800 A.D.

**Journal of the University of Poona—Humanities Section,**  
no. 7., (57)

- S. G. TULPULÉ—*Marāṭhī Elements in Three Pre-Gommaṭa (?) Plates*. The inscription at Śravaṇa Belgōla, in Mysore State, inscribed at the feet of the statue of Gommaṭa, is the earliest known Marāṭhī inscription of about 983 A.D. The Mangalwedhe C.P. and Chikurde C.P. Copper plates are described by Rājwāde as Pre-Gommaṭa. Here Chikurde Copper plate, and Miraj C.P. and Marmuri Copper plate inscriptions are studied linguistically and dated back to a period not earlier than the 12th cent. A.D. on the ground that the Oblique Base which is a distinguishing feature of Old Marāṭhī is not found in them.

- U. M. PATHAN and S. G. TULPULE—मराठी बखरींतील फारसी वाक्प्रचार (*Persian Usages in Marāṭhī Historical Records (Bakharī)*).
- H. D. SANKALIA and S. B. DEO—नेवासे (११६५-५६) (*Nevāsa* (1954-56). In Marāṭhī.
- G. V. TAGARE—*Vanamāli Miśra's Vedānta Siddhānta Dīpikā*. This paper describes Vanamāli-Miśra's VSD, a work on Dvaita Philosophy, dated 1692 A.D. The text is annexed at the end.

**Mahabodhi**, vol. 66., no. 1, (Jan. '58)

- A. A. G. BENNETT—*Chinese Translations of Sanskrit Buddhist Literature during the 5th and 6th Centuries C. E.* The account begins from Kumārajīva. It is noted here that an Aryan population, with a high degree of civilisation, inhabited in the Tarim region between Tien Shan and Kuen-lun ranges, until the advent of a period of desiccation about the 5th century A. D.
- EGERTON C. BAPTIST—*Buddhism and Science*.

नागरीप्रचारिणी पत्रिका

(**Nagari Pracarini Patrika**) vol 62., no. 1, (Samvat. 2014)

- HAZARI PRASAD DVIVEDI—संदेशरासक के विचारणीय पाठ और अर्थ—२ (*The Controversial Readings and their Interpretation in the Sandeśarāsaka—2*)
- RAJABALI PANDEYA—भारतीय इतिहासके पूर्व मध्ययुग की समस्याएँ (*The Problems Relating to the Early Mediaeval Period of Indian History*). The importance of drawing upon the various literary, scriptural and philosophical resources for the determination of the nature of Early Mediaeval period (711—1206 A.D.) of Indian History and civilisation, has been stressed here.
- SIVAPRASAD SIMHA—ब्रजभाषाका उद्गम—शौरसेनी अपभ्रंश (*Sauraseni Apabhramśa—The Origin of Vrajabbāṣā*).

**Poona Orientalist**, vol. XXII, nos. 384, (July—Oct. '57)

- A. J. KARANDIKAR—*The Riddle of 'Indra' and 'Soma'*. This is an attempt at astronomical interpretation of these two Vedic deities. Indra is said to be the deity associated with the summer solstice, Soma with the winter solstice, and Agni with the spring equinox.
- SADASHIVA L. KATRE—*Date of Mādhavasvāmin, an Early Author on Dharma-Śāstra—Before 1100 A. C.* Though his work has not yet been traced Mādhavasvāmin has been cited by such authors as Caṇḍeśvara (in his *Gṛhastharatnākara*) and Lakṣmīdhara (in the *Prāyaścittakāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, and in the *Gṛhasthakāṇḍa* also). The latter citation has been made the basis here, for placing Mādhavasvāmin before 1100 A. D., as Lakṣmīdhara's literary activities fall in the period 1100-1150 A. D.
- N. G. CHAPEKAR—*The Concept of God*. The process of assimilation of different gods, according to the present scholar, started even before the Ṛgvedic times. He distinguishes the Ādityas from the Devas. Manu is considered to be pre-Vedic.
- M. M. PATKAR—*Studies in Sanskrit Lexicography (II), Harṣakīrti's Contribution to Sanskrit Lexicography*. Harṣakīrti, a High Priest of the Nāgapurīyatapāgaccha branch of Jain priests, belonged to the 16th century A. D., and wrote, among others, three lexical works viz. (I) *Śārādīyākhyānamamālā*, (II) *Anekārthanāmamālā* and (III) *Śabdānekārtha*—the 1st being a glossary of synonyms, and the others dealing with homonyms. This study relates to these three works.
- K. KUNJUNNI RAJA—*Traividyeśa of Payyūr Bhaṭṭa Family in Kerala*. The Payyūr Bhaṭṭa family (near Trichur) played important role in the history of Sanskrit literature in Kerala for about six generations beginning from about 14th century A. D. The term *Traividyeśa* refers to Ṛṣi III (middle of the 15th century A. D.) belonging to the fifth generation of the same family.



CLAUS VOGEL—*On the Humoral Physiology and Pathology of the Hippocratics*. The moral principles of Hippocrates' (B. C. 460-377) system of medicine have been exhaustively discussed here from the viewpoint of a comparative study of ancient Indian and Greek cultures.

### समाज-शास्त्र

(*Samaja-Sastra*) vol. V., no. 16, (Jan.-Dec., '56)

DIHARMA BHANU—भारतमें चतुर्थ प्रेजीडेन्सी—आगरा प्रेजीडेन्सी १८३४-१८३६ (*Agra Presidency—The Fourth Presidency in India, 1834-1836*). From original records and documents the author discusses the organisation and administration of the Agra Presidency for the said period, 1834-1836.

### सारस्वती सुषमा

(*Sarasvati Susama*) Journal of the Govt. Sanskrit College, Benares, vol. XII., no. 1 (2014 S.)

RAGHUNATH SHARMA—जगत्सर्गप्रयोजनम् (*The Necessity of Creation of the Universe*). In this paper the different theories of Creation as found in the various philosophical systems of India are discussed in detail.

JANAMEJAYA SHASTRI—आर्यणामुत्पत्तिस्थानं त्रिलोकहस्यं च (*The Place of Origin of the Aryans and the Mystery About the Three Worlds*). In discussing the different theories about the original home of the Aryans, the present scholar draws on the indigenous sources and concludes that the Aryans originated and flourished in the Arctic region (Meru). Meru is identified as *Brahmaloka*, the middle part of it as the *Devaloka*, and the region below the mountain, i.e., the surface of the earth, as *Manusyaloka*.

### University of Ceylon Review,

vol. XIV, no. 3 & 4, (July-Oct., 1956)

PRINCE MIKASA—*The Introduction of Buddhism to Japan*. It is a short survey beginning with the time of Emperor Kinmei, during whose regime Buddhism was introduced into Japan in the middle of the 6th cent. A.D.

*Supplement*

# THE VAITĀNASŪTRA

By

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## INTRODUCTION

The *Vaitānasūtra* is one of the five ritual texts, which are related to the *Atharvasaṁhitā*. Besides this, which is known also as the *Vitāna-kalpa*, the other books are *Kauśika-sūtra*, known also as *Samhitā-kalpa* or *Samhitāvidhi*, *Nakṣatra-kalpa*, *Sānti-kalpa* and *Āṅgirasakalpa* called, otherwise, as *Abhicāra kalpa* or *Vidhānakalpa*. The text *Vaitāna*, which is the Śrauta manual of the *Atharvaveda*, has got the *Kauśikasūtra* as the corresponding Gṛhya text. Ordinarily the Gṛhya sūtras are dependent upon the Śrauta-sūtras; the former refer to the latter and do not describe for the second time performances which have once been treated in the Śrauta-sūtras. But here the condition is reverse. The *Kauśika* is not dependent upon the *Vaitāna* at any point, but the dependence of the *Vaitāna* upon the *Kauśika* is apparent almost at every step. The former treats the latter as though it were a *Samhitā*. The ritual practices and independent mantras of the latter are unhesitatingly accepted and are understood by the Śrauta priests following the tradition of the *Vaitāna*. The *Vaitāna* is obviously a very late work. It is not the product of practices in Śrauta ceremonies, which have slowly and gradually developed in a high priestly circle, but contrarily it is a conscious product, made at a time when the *Atharvavedins*, in course of their controversies with the priests of other schools, felt the necessity for maintaining a Śrauta manual, which was distinctly *Atharvaṇic* and was designed to establish the claim that the *Atharvaveda* was a canonical work of an independent and superior character.<sup>1</sup> The *Vaitāna* as well as the *Kauśika* sūtras belonged to the *Śaunakīya* school of the *Atharvaveda* or to some other schools, which deviated from the *Śaunakīya* in very minor matters.

The *Vaitāna* presents a number of problems, which have hitherto not been definitely settled. It is an anonymous work

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Atharvaveda*, Bloomfield § 15; On the position of the *Vaitānasūtra*, Bloomfield, *JAOS*, XI p. 379.

even without a title. It got such a title probably because the first sūtra of the text contains the word *Vitāna*. At least the author of the commentary of Kātyāyana's *Śrauta-sūtra* knew the text by the title *Vaitānasūtra*, which was also introduced by the same author as simply *Vaitāna* and *Ātharvaṇa*.<sup>2</sup> The published text of the work contains 8 chapters; but sometimes the same is extended upto 14 chapters by the addition of the *Prāyāścittasūtras*. This condition features in one of the mss, which Garbe utilised in his work and also in the Codex, which was presented by Eggeling to the Royal Library of Berlin. But the last six chapters, which are not included in the text of Garbe, were most probably interpolations and were subsequently added to the text in due deference to the *Kauśikasūtra*, which the *Vaitāna* assumes as the *Saṁhitā* and which too contained 14 chapters. Shankar Pandit in his introduction to the *Ātharvaveda* 11.2 mentions a commentary on the *Vaitānasūtra*, called *Ākṣepa* by Somāditya. We do not know anything about this commentary. But recently Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharyya of Sanskrit College, Calcutta, is editing a commentary of the *Vaitānasūtra*, of which he found a ms. in the library of the Asiatic Society, Bengal. As we come to learn from him it is a transcript of the same commentary, which has been mentioned by Shankar Pandit. The *Vaitāna*, it should be mentioned here, contains very little as original and freely borrows from the *Yajur Saṁhitas*—a fact which can be definitely known from the *Vaitānasūtra* itself: 1.8 *devatā havir dakṣiṇā Yajurvedāt*.

The question is whether the author of the *Vaitāna* really knew the *Kauśika* and borrowed from it actually and not from the tradition, which remained current in the same school? Bloomfield showed in details the points of contact<sup>3</sup> and came to the conclusion: "It would be certainly going too far

2 Hillebrandt, *Ritual Litteratur*, p. 35; Garbe, Introduction to the edition of the text, p. VI.

3 Vide *JASOS*, vol. XI, pp. 382 ff.

to suppose that the *Vaitāna* has drawn upon the *Kauśika* for all these numerous correspondences; it is very probable that many of the *Atharvan* specialities of both texts were simply current in *Atharvan* schools in such a way that they would be at the bidding of the compiler of a religious manual at any time.”<sup>4</sup> Bloomfield shows further agreements, which seem to be more convincing about the indebtedness of the *Vaitāna* to the *Kauśika*, but still he is not ready to admit it. So he asserts: “Sound as this evidence seems to be at first sight, I confess that I cannot regard it as a final proof that the *Vaitāna* has in such cases actually borrowed from the *Kauśika*. It might well be possible that we have here ritualistic acts common and familiar in the *Atharvan* schools reported independently by the two texts, and that it is due merely to difference of style and method that the *Kauśika* reports them in full, while the *Vaitāna* only sketches their outline. It is worth noting that the *Vaitāna* never mentions the *Kauśika* as the source from which these outlines may be filled in.”<sup>5</sup>

Though Bloomfield makes the above statements and does not admit the direct borrowing of the *Vaitāna* from the *Kauśika* he cites a few evidences, which seem to weaken his stand and support the contrary view. In describing the constituents of the *Śāntiyudaka* the author of the *Vaitāna* mentions two kinds of herbs—the *Ātharvaṇa* and the *Āṅgīrasa*. He specifically mentions the latter giving particulars of each variety, but only refers to the former briefly by stating *cityādibhir ātharvaṇībhiḥ* (5. 10). He refrained from giving the particular names of those herbs, as the same were enumerated in the *Kauśikasūtra*. But as the other kind of herbs was not taken any notice of in the *Kauśika* its detailed account was necessary in the *Vaitānasūtra*. Such a condition strongly suggests borrowing and unambiguously speaks for the indebtedness of the *Vaitāna* to the *Kauśika* in the present case. Again, Bloomfield suggests another evidence too, which he claims to be technical. Both the texts, the *Vaitāna*

4 Vide *JAOS.*, vol. XI, pp. 382ff.

5 *Ibid.*

and *Kauśika* follow the common practice of citing by *Pratīkas* the hymns belonging to the canon of their own school; but when they borrow from the different Vedas or different schools of the same Vedas they give the complete verses. Now, the *Vaitāna* shows a peculiarity, which makes it distinct from others. When it quotes any hymns or formulas from the *Kauśika* it cites by *Pratīkas* only and does not consider whether the same are borrowed by the *Kauśika* from some extraneous sources or are original to it. Now the *Kauśika* possesses a mantra 6. 11., which is exclusively its own and does not occur any where else. Dārila too, the commentator of the work, acknowledges this fact and designates it as *Kalpajā*. Now, the *Vaitāna* has mentioned the same merely by citing the *Pratīka* (24. 7) and admitted its indebtedness to the *Kauśika*. These two evidences surely go against the view of Bloomfield.<sup>6</sup>

Hillebrandt, who probably consulted this paper of Bloomfield and noticed the contradicting arguments of the latter, made a similarly dubious statement in his *Ritual Litteratur*. From the agreements, which occur between the *Kauśika* and the *Vaitāna* he could not come to any definite conclusion and made this remark: —

“The agreements between the two, which cite sometimes the same formulas, either have occurred due to the origin of the same from the current tradition of the *Atharva* schools or they testify, which is probable in a very great degree, to the dependence of the *Vaitāna* upon the *Kauśika*” But in spite of all the assertions, probably Bloomfield realised the indebtedness of the *Vaitāna* to the *Kauśika* and believed it to be a fact. This can be known from a statement, which occurs in his introduction to the

6 On the position of the *Vaitānasūtras*, *JAOS.*, XI pp. 378. ff.

7 “Die Übereinstimmungen beider, welche sich auch auf formelles erstrecken, sind entweder aus der in *Atharvaschulen* umlaufenden Tradition geschöpft oder bezeugen, wie in hohem grade wahrscheinlich gemacht ist, die Abhängigkeit des *Vaitāna* vom *Kauśika*” *Ritual Litteratur*, p. 36.

edition of the *Kauśikasūtra*, that appeared after several years in the same journal. He, while speaking about the *Kauśikasūtra* states: "Secondly this sūtra is prior to, and is *presupposed* by the *Vaitānasūtra* etc....How long a period elapsed between the redaction of the *Kauśika* and that of the *Vaitāna* it is impossible to state."<sup>8</sup> We think that the view, which has been expressed here, is probably a correct one. It seems that there is probably a reference to the *Kauśika* in the *Vaitānasūtra* itself, in which towards the end it is stated: He, who reads both these *Kalpas* and knows them really obtains prosperity by the performance of all the sacrifices and finds all his desires fulfilled.<sup>9</sup> In a note, which Caland has added to his German translation of the very same passage, he explains the two *Kalpas* as the *Kauśikasūtra* and the *Vaitānasūtra*. We think that Caland is probably right in his suggestion as the two texts represent the Śrauta and the Grhya manuals of the *Atharvaveda*.

Our next problem is whether the *Vaitāna* is prior or posterior to the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*? Scholars are sharply divided among themselves and produced evidences in support of their respective views. Bloomfield and a few others believe that the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* is later than the *Vaitāna*, to which the former is indebted. Caland, Keith and a group of scholars, on the contrary, have expressed the opposite view and maintained the *Vaitānasūtra* as later than the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*.

Bloomfield, who has clearly expressed his views regarding the priority of the *Vaitānasūtra*, has shown the correspondences between the two texts and deduced conclusions from them. According to him the extract GB. 2. 1. 16, 2. 9 and 2. 12 are nothing but the Brāhmanized forms of the *Vait.* II. 1, 15. 3 and 16. 15-17. In quoting extracts from the *Vaitāna* the *Gopatha* sometimes mentions them in full (*Vait.* 3. 20=GB. 2. 1. 7.) and sometimes, again, by *Pratikas* (*Vait.* 3. 14, 4. 16=GB. 2. 1. 3 and 4). The mention by *Pratika* is surely to be noted

<sup>8</sup> JAOS, XIV, pp. XX ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ya imau kalpāvadhite yau caivam veda tena sarvaih kratubhir iṣṭam bhavati sarvām śca kāmānāpnoti*, *Vait.* 43. 46.



also in the case of the famous *Gharmasūkta* (*Vait.* 14.1 = *GB.* 2. 1. 6). The fragmentary citation of the mantras of the *Vait.* 16., 17 and 18. 11. with explanation in the manner of the *SB* is noticed in the *GB.* 2. 2. 12 and 18. Again, the extract *GB.* 2. 1. 16, which is taken from the *Vait.* 11. 1 is out of order in the former but quite consistent in the latter, where the Agniṣṭoma has been introduced.

Not only the second part of the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* but the first part too bespeaks its indebtedness to the *Vaitānasūtra*. As we have already stated above, in the *Vaitāna* 5. 10 two classes of plants are mentioned, one *Ātharvaṇic* (blessed, holy) and the other *Āṅgirasīc* (terrible, magical). The latter, as we have pointed out before, is described in full particulars in the text, but the former is simply alluded to with the words *cityādibhir ātharvaṇībhiḥ*, since, the same is described in the *Kauśikasūtra*, to which the *Vaitāna* is indebted. But the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, before which both the *Kauśika* and the *Vaitāna* existed, did not describe the two kinds of plants in fair details, but simply alluded to them by stating merely *ātharvaṇibhiḥ cāṅgirasībhiḥca*. These would have been unintelligible but for their references to the above-mentioned texts. Again, the *Paippalāda hymn*, given in full in *Vait.* 10. 17, is mentioned in the *GB.* 1. 1. 12 with the citation of the pada *Yajñam triṛtaṁ sapatatantum*. The five stanzas *Vait.* 6. 1. are mentioned in the *GB.* 1. 2. 18 only by the *Pratīkas*. There are certain words, which are peculiar to both the texts and there are some descriptions in the *GB.* 1. 3. 11 and 12, which appear as late notes on the *Vaitāna*. Similar condition obtains in the *GB.* 1. 3. 17, that describes the *ekagu* variety of the Agniṣṭoma and appears as an after-thought in *Vait.* 29. 20. Finally the *GB.* 1. 2. 18. contains an *Ātharvaṇic* legend, which is clearly built upon the *Vait.* 5. 10 and more remotely upon *Kauśika* 8 and 9.<sup>10</sup>

10 Bloomfield, *Ātharvaveda* § 64-66. The position of the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* in the Vedic Literature, *JAOS.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 1 ff.

It should be brought to the notice of the scholars that Keith has opposed the view of Bloomfield, nor has he found in the latter's arguments any cogent reasons, which might irresistibly lead to the conclusion, he has drawn—namely the indebtedness of the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* to the *Vaitānasūtra*. According to him the allusion to two classes of plants by the words *ātharvaṇibhiś cāṅgirasībhiśca* in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* cannot be a sufficient ground for the assumption of one borrowing from the other, since the *Brāhmaṇas* frequently refer to matters explained only in the *sūtras*. So this argument, to which Bloomfield attaches so much importance, does not carry any weight whatsoever according to his estimate. Similarly he is reluctant to lay any stress on the argument from the citation of the *Pratikas*. He denies that the *GB.* 1.2.18 is based on the *Vait.* 5.10. So he rules out the assumption of the borrowing of the *Gopatha* from the *Vaitāna*.

Here it needs mention that Keith has given some arguments too in support of the contrary view, which he maintained with Caland and others. In the two passages of the *Vaitāna* 17.11, 31.1, there are references to the *Brāhmaṇa*, which Keith admits as evidences in support for the acknowledgment of the existence of the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* prior to the composition of the *Vaitānasūtra*. Again, in the *Vaitāna* 16.5 there occurs the expression *purā pracaritah*, which presents a peculiar construction unlike the *sūtras* and offers, according to him, a more solid ground for the recognition of borrowing by the *Vaitānasūtra* from the *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa*<sup>11</sup>.

In his introduction to the German translation of the *Vaitānasūtra* Caland has advanced certain evidences, which he believes to have fairly established the indebtedness of the *Vaitānasūtra* to the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*. According to him there are certain passages in the *Vaitānasūtra* 7.26, 11.20b, 31.4, which can be understood only with the help of the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*. As stated by Keith he too assumes that the two references to the

11 Keith, *JRAS.*, 1910, pp. 934 ff.

word *Brāhmaṇa* in the *Vaitāna sūtra* are surely indicative of the existence of the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* before the *Vaitāna* (*eine zweifellose Verweisung nach unserem Brāhmaṇa*). There are certain passages in the *Vaitāna* 7.2., 7.3, 7.24 which bear marks of wrong interpretation of the Vedic mantras and show imperfect construction of sentences; now, such faulty expositions and grammatical inaccuracies are not the properties of the *Vaitāna* itself, but are inheritances from the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*. Again, there are a few passages in the *Vaitāna* 3.7, 13. 16, 18.1, 20. 21b, which being verbatim quotations from the *Gopatha* are obscure in the sūtra. The sūtra possesses certain hints and indications, which occur also in the *Brāhmaṇas*—but they are absolutely uncalled-for in the former but quite consistent in the latter<sup>12</sup>.

Caland suggests another evidence too, which he considers more convincing. In several passages of the *Vaitāna* 2.15, 5.3, 8.1, 8.5, 8.8, 11.1, 11.5a 11.56, 11.21-26, 12.3, 12.4, 13.26, 13.20, 17.7, 20.21b, 24.20, 34.21, 35.1., 35.2, which are quite identical with those of the *Gopatha*, the optative verb-forms are used, which militate against the tradition of the sūtras, to which the indicative is more conformable. Such optative forms surely bear testimony to the fact that such passages in the sūtra are definitely borrowed from the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*. We like to point out here that Keith has given much importance to this evidence of Caland, which has convinced him about the justifiability of his stand.

Caland suggests one concrete example, which we like to reproduce here due to the importance of the problem, we are discussing. The passage *Vait* 28.1, reads *āgnīdhra āgnīdhriyād aṅgārair dve savane viharati śalākābhis tṛtīyasavanam*. Now, the portion barring the first two words occurs exactly in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* although originally it formed a part of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*. Caland opines that it is folly to argue with Bloomfield that the author of the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* borrowed the passage from the sūtra and not from the original *Taittirīya*

12 See *Vait*, 4. 1, 12. 4, 30. 16.

*Samhitā*. In the like manner, he argues further, for the passages, which the *Vaitāna* possesses in common with the *Gopatha* and other *Brāhmaṇas*, one might consider that the *Vaitāna* drew the common passages not from the *Gopatha* but from the other *Brāhmaṇas*; but that would be a bad logic, since the author of the *Vaitāna* did not certainly think it convenient to ransack the different *Brāhmaṇas* not lying close at hand, while, the *Gopatha* presented those passages in a ready form and remained before him. According to him this state of affairs can lead only to that very conclusion, in support of which he has suggested the above stated evidences<sup>13</sup>.

We must admit that the evidences, which the two groups of scholars have presented in support of their respective views, are too inadequate for leading to any definite conclusion. We, however, place before the scholars the arguments of both the contending parties, from which it would be possible for them to deduce their own conclusions.

Keith has objected to certain statements of Caland, which he considers to be distortions of facts. Caland has expressed the view that the twentieth book of the *Atharvaveda* is a collection only of the Ṛk verses and also that not a single verse of the same is found in the *Paippalāda* recension of the *Atharvaveda*. But Keith points out that both the statements are wrong. Again, Caland suggests that the twentieth book is the *Samhitā* of the *Brāhmaṇācchasin* priest but Keith argues that the same is not categorically stated anywhere but is a mere conjecture. Caland has expressed a doubt whether the twentieth book of the *Atharvaveda* was ever known to the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*. Keith believes that such a doubt is absolutely uncalled-for. Bloomfield unequivocally states: "Yet it is without question an exceedingly late production, and also presupposes *Kaṇś.* and *Vait.* as well as the *Śaunakīya Samhitā* in 20 books".<sup>14</sup> He reiterates the same

13 Caland, *Introduction to the German translation of the Vaitānasūtra*, Verhand. Kon. Akad. V, Wetensch, Amsterdam 1910, p V.

14 *Atharvaveda* § 66.

view in a different place, which points to his deep faith in the idea. He asserts in clear terms: "Yet it is without question an exceedingly late production, and also presupposes the *Kaus.* and *Vait.* in addition to the *Śaunakīya-saṁhitā* in 20 Kāṇḍas"<sup>15</sup>. It should be stated here that Bloomfield bases his conclusion upon a statement of the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (1.1.5 and 8), which describes the descent of twenty mythical sages from the Atharvan and the Aṅgiras<sup>16</sup>. As statements of facts in a round about and mystical way are often noticed in literature, we think, probably Bloomfield is correct and the same may be accepted in the absence of any convincing evidence, which is suggestive of the contrary view.

It is very difficult to reach any conclusion regarding the date of the work, in view of so many questions. Basing upon a statement of Aufrecht Keith accepts the view that the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* was known to Yāska, the author of the *Nirukta*. As Yāska was known to Śaunaka and Pāṇini being cited in the *Ṛg. prātiśākhya* and *Bṛhaddevatā* and presupposed in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, his date cannot be placed later than 500 B.C. If this be the date of Yāska the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, which was also known to him, can never be later than 600 B.C. It should be noted here that this date agrees fairly with the general sūtra period, which, according to Maxmuller and Macdonell was fixed between 800 and 600 B.C.<sup>17</sup>. Now, if the *Vaitānasūtra* was earlier than the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* it must have been composed before that time. But if it appeared later it is not possible to say anything definitely. But the general nature of the language convinces us that it was not composed much later than the date of the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*.

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15 The position of the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* in the Vedic Literature, *JAOS.*, vol. XIX, p. 9.

16 *Atharvaveda* § 35 p. 34.

17 Keith, *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, Introduction, pp. 25-26.

## The Vaitānasūtra

1. We shall now explain the ritual of the Śrauta-sacrifice.

Brahman, who is conversant with the Brahma-veda, sits for the performance of sacrifices according to the rule (explained in the Kauś. sūtra 3,5-7) in the south (of the Vihāra) and does not speak anything worldly.

2. He cites the mantras concomitantly with the dedication of the sacrificial gifts, which are duly offered (i.e. whenever an offering is to be given, a stanza is to be recited or a hymn is to be chanted).

3. According to Bhāgali when a Vedic aphorism is not duly prescribed, he (the Brahman) utters an appropriate stanza, which contains an indication (i.e. the name of the sacrificial act, to which the performances are related.) According to junior Kauśika he recites the stanza: "Prajāpati, none other than you" (VII. 80. 3). But according to Māṭhara he recites a stanza, appropriate to the god, concerned (i.e. he utters a stanza in which the god to whom the sacrifice or the offering is related is mentioned); but our teacher enjoins that he should utter the holy words: "Om, bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ, janad, om."

4. Some insert the mantras of the principal offerings during the performance of the preliminary and final offerings.

5. To a sacrificer, who is consecrated by a priest, well-versed in the Atharvaveda, he asks to pronounce the aphorisms (uttered on all the occasions).<sup>1</sup>

6. The fire is Āhavanīya.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Caland draws our attention to the following statement of the Gopatha-Brahmaṇa I.1.29. *Bhṛguṅgiravidā saṁskṛto' nyān vedān adhiyita nānyatra saṁskṛto Bhṛguṅgiraso' dhiyita* i.e. one, who is consecrated by the Atharvaveda, should read the other Vedas, but those, consecrated by the Vedas other than the Atharvan, should not read the latter,

<sup>2</sup> It means that when there is no mention of the fire, one should understand that the Āhavanīya has been referred to.

7. The rules to be observed by the sacrificer with regard to his getting in and coming out of the Vihāra and also the reservation of speech are exactly the same as those, which are prescribed for the Brahman himself.

8. The particulars about the gods (to whom the offerings or the mantras are to be dedicated), the sacrificial gifts (which are to be offered) and the sacrificial fee are to be ascertained from the ritual of the Yajurveda.

9-10. The Āgnidhra performs the sacrificial activities taking his seat in the north of the fire. When he holds the Sphya and the brushing tuft in his hand, stands and turns his face towards the south, on every occasion according to the text he is to give Pratyāśrāvaṇa with the words: "Be it Śrau 3 ṣaṭ."

11. During the New-moon sacrifice on the previous day the sacrificer takes the food, which is permitted to one, who would observe fasting and that too in the evening.<sup>3</sup>

12. He casts fuel into the Āhavanīya, Gārhapatya and the Dakṣiṇāyaṇa fires and while he apportions pieces of fire-wood (to the different fires) he sings: "Oh Agni, please burn before me." (V.3).

13. He enters upon observance with the recital of the stanza; "By observance, oh you, the lord of observance." (VII. 74.4). Fasting and other (practices, which are described in the Kauśika-sūtra 73.10) are to be observed here too.

14. He (the sacrificer) pronounces the four stanzas (of which the first reads:) "Oh Agni, please burn before me" (V. 3. 1-4) in order to ensure the favour of the gods. He chants, further, the hymn: "Oh Sinīvālī with broad braids" (VII. 46) (on the day of the new-moon in order to ensure the favour of the god, mentioned in the mantra.)

15. On the day of the full-moon he proceeds with the hymn: "To us to-day" (VII. 20) (the god mentioned in the mantra namely Anumati is favourably disposed.)

3 The Kauśika-sutra (I. 31-32), Caland informs us, has given the details of the prohibited food. It consists of honey, salt, meat and bean.

16. After having performed the morning Agnihotra on the day of the new-moon he proceeds with the hymns: "The goddess Kuhū" (VII. 47), "What to the gods" (VII. 79) (the goddess mentioned in the mantra, namely Kuhū, is worshipped); on the day of the full-moon with the hymns: "I invoke you, Rākā" (VII. 48), "Full behind" (VII.80) (the goddess mentioned in the mantra, namely Rākā, is worshipped).

17. Then the sacrificer chooses the Brahman with the formula: "Oh lord of the earth, oh lord of the creation, oh lord of the universe, oh lord of the great creation, we select you as the Brahman (in our sacrificial performance.)"

18. The selected Brahman whispers: I am the lord of the earth, I am the lord of the creation, I am the lord of the universe, I am the lord of the great creation; I proclaim this to the Mind, the Mind proclaims it to the Speech, the Speech to the Gāyatrī, the Gāyatrī to the Uṣṇih, the Uṣṇih to the Anuṣṭubh, the Anuṣṭubh to the Br̥hatī, the Br̥hatī to the Pañkti, the Pañkti to the Tr̥ṣṭubh, the Tr̥ṣṭubh to the Jagatī, the Jagatī to Prajāpati and Prajāpati to All-gods; om, bhūḥ, bhuvah, svaḥ, janad, om and he whispers also the Apratiratha hymn (XIX.13).

19. Here a series of performances take place, of which the first is indicated by the words: "Having rinsed the mouth with the streaming water" and which close with the forward-stride.

20. After he (the Brahman) has moved forward to the north of the Āhavanīya fire but to the south of (i.e. behind) the other two fires (i.e. the Gārhapatya and the Dakṣiṇāgni),<sup>4</sup> he casts a look at his seat; immediately after this follow a series of performances of which the first is the utterance of the aphorism: "Oh you, the son from the second marriage" and the last is the seeing of the heaven and the earth.

4 Caland translates *dakṣiṇato' parāgnibhyām* as "in the west of the other two fires" i.e. the Gārhapatya and the Dakṣiṇāgni. Looking to the heaven and the earth means looking to the horizon, where the heaven meets with the earth.



## II

1. When he (the Brahman) hears the Adhvaryu to say "Oh Brahman, shall I bring the water," he (the Brahman) grants approval to it with the words : "Prepare the sacrifice and appease the gods. May the sacrificer remain in the heavenly region above the vault of the sky. May you lead the sacrifice and the sacrificer to the region, which is the abode of the seven pious Ṛṣis. Om, bhūḥ, bhuvāḥ svaḥ, janād, om. May you arrange the sacrifice."<sup>5</sup> On every occasion he grants permission according to the text; the text, with which the permission is to be imparted, is to be uttered both at the beginning and at the end.

2. When the Praṇīta water is brought, he (the Brahman) controls his speech (i e. does not speak anything worldly) till the invocation of the Haviṣkṛt.

3. If he speaks anything worldly he should whisper (afterwards for the atonement of his sin) a stanza, which is dedicated to Viṣṇu,

4. After the consignment of the Anvāhārya into the fire the Āgnīdhra sweeps off all around over the Vedi and throws the grasses and dusts, collected from the Vedi into a place, reserved for them ; when the dust of the Stambayajuṣ has been thrown off (by the Adhvaryu) for the second time he exhorts with the formula : "Araru, do not carry to the heaven the dust, which is thrown off into the Utkara."<sup>6</sup>

5 Caland makes the sentence end in *Praṇaya* and construes *yajñam* as the first word of the next sentence. Obviously his translation differs from what we have given. He translates as "so gibt er (der brahman) dazu die Erlaubnis mit den Worten : bringe hin! erfreue du das Opfer, die Götter." But this does not seem appropriate; as it is difficult to ascertain how the sacrifice is to be pleased unless the same be the impersonification of some being.

6 Caland informs us that it is said by the Adhvaryu in other texts while only in the Vaitāna and the Kātyāyana śrauta-sūtra it is done by the Āgnīdhra.

5. He (the Brahman) enjoins the enclosing of the Vēdi with the stanza: "Oh Bṛhaspati, enclose." (Kauś. sūtra 137. 11.)

6. He (the Brahman) advocates the girding on of the wife with the stanza: "Hoping favour." (XIV. 1. 42.)

7. When the butter is drawn out (for dedicating), he (the Brahman) addresses the stanza to the fire: "Oh butter, you are dedicated to Agni." (VII. 82. 6). He (the Brahman) speaks to the Adhvaryu, who scatters holy grasses over the Vēdi with the stanza: "Scatter" (VII. 99).

8. He dictates the storing up of the Paridhi wood with the stanza: "On which the trees" (XI. 1. 27).

9. He instructs about the laying down of the Prastara (upon that of the Vidhṛti) with the stanza: 'You are the prastara of the Ṛṣis' (XVI, 2. 6).

10. When the sacrificial gifts have been arranged upon the Vēdi he (the Brahman) dedicates at first the preliminary offering (prescribed in the Kauś. sūtra 3, 16-17), next, the sacrificial gifts, specially suitable for magic performances if there be any such occasion for the practice of sorcery (Kauś. sūtra 47, 8. 10) and finally the concluding gifts (prescribed in the Kauś. sūtra 6, 3-4).

11. He recites the Sāmidhenī' stanzas, which begin with the hymn: "I think of the Agni" (IV. 23).

12. He prescribes the Prājāpatya Āghāra with the stanza: "Prajāpati, none other than you" (VII. 80. 3).

13. Commanded by the Adhvaryu with the words: "Oh Agnīdh, please cleanse the surrounding fuels and the fire for three times" the Āgnīdhra, after he has thrown the Sphya between the fire and the brushing tuft, cleanses the surrounding fuels—at first the middle, next the southern and then at last the northern for three times (with the brushing tuft) during which he utters the formula: "Oh Agni, the winner of the booty, I wipe off you, who are willing to run a race and stand as the

7 There is no statement about the manner by which the seven stanzas of the hymn have been converted into thirteen Sāmidhenī stanzas.

winner of the booty.’ With the mere brushing tuft he fans the fire hitherwards (towards himsel) with the formula : ‘Oh Agni, I wipe off you, who would win and carry the booty, please win the booty.’<sup>8</sup>

14. He (the Brahman) dictates the Aindra Āghāra with the stanza : “Oh Indra, this” (VI. 5. 2).

8 Caland has quite differently translated the portion of the sūtra *Āgnidbrah sphyam agnim ca saṁmārgam āntarā kṛtvā*. He translates : ‘nachdem er (i.e. Āgnidhra) den Sphya in den Reinigungsbüschel gesteckt hat.” Caland omits altogether the expressions *agnim ca* in his translation and the following statement of him explains why he has done so : “Das von Garbe gedruckte *sphyam agnim ca saṁmārgamantarā kṛtvā* ist wegen des *agnim ca* unbegreiflich; da die andere sūtras *idhmasaṁnahanāni sphya upasaṁgrhya, saṁmārgam sphyam upasaṁyamya* oder *idhmasaṁnahanaiḥ sahasphyaib* haben, halte ich jetzt *agnim ca* für Interpolation and schlage vor *sphyam saṁmārgam antarā kṛtvā* zu lesen; *agnim ca* kann aus dem Saṁpraīsa eingedrungen sein. Garbe’s Auffassung der Stelle ist unhaltbar.” But Caland in his paper “Zur Exegese und Kritik der rituellen sūtras, Zum Vaitāna-sūtra” (Z. D. M. G. vol. 53, P. 205) has discussed the interpretation of the line and in his translation preserved the expression *agnim ca*, which he considers as later intrusion above. There he says : *sphyam agnim ca saṁmārgān antarā kṛtvā* bedeutet : nachdem er den Saṁmārga zwischen den Sphya und das (Āhavanīya) Feuer gebracht hat, d. h. während des Abwischens hält er den Saṁmārga zwischen dem Feuer und dem Sphya”.

Now, the revised translation of Caland shows that the text of Garbe should be retained. The expression *antarā*, an indeclinable conveys the sense of ‘between’; obviously it points to two objects, the intervening space of which is indicated by the term. (The construction is like *tvām mām ca antarā*, ‘between you and me’.) So the whole thing becomes clear if the indeclinable *ca* is placed after *saṁmārgam*. Thus, *sphyam agnim ca saṁmārgam antara kṛtvā* means ‘placing the Sphya between the fire and the brushing tuft.’ It might mean as well ‘placing the brushing tuft between the Sphya and the fire’, as suggested by Caland in his revised translation. But as the Saṁmārga would be necessary for cleansing, about which there is mention immediately after, we presume, possibly here the placing of the Sphya has been intended, which is not required just now. Caland suggests that *saṁmārjyāgne* is a misprint for *saṁmr̥ṣṭāgne*, which was supported also by the Tübingen ms.

15. After the Pravara (the solemn selection of the Hotṛ) is completed, the Brahman asks the sacrificer to whisper the three stanzas: "You gods, you fathers" VI 123. 3-5).

16. After the preliminary offering he (the Brahman) utters the stanza: "Summer, Winter" (VI. 55. 2).

17. After the Ājya-shares i. e. the distribution of the Ājya there happens the recital of the stanza: "I have begot" (VI. 61. 3).

### III

1. After the offering of the cakes for Agni he pronounces the stanza: "By which to Indra" (I. 9. 3).

2. After the offering of the cakes reserved for Indra and Agni he should utter the stanza: "Not the wish, not the word" (V. 7. 6).

3. After the distribution of the Sāmānyā gift, which is to be offered to Indra or to Mahendra, one is to pronounce the stanza: "Oh Indra, this" (VI. 5. 2) or "You are Indra you are Mahendra" (XVI. 1. 18).

4. On the day of the full-moon after the Upāśūyāja, which is related to the Agni-Soma and is performed between the Agni and the Agni-Soma sacrifices, he (the Brahman) utters the stanza: "To him belongs the power" (VI. 54. 2), but the same should not be done on the day of the new-moon, because there is no prescription for such performance on that day.

5. After the distribution of the gift to Svaṣṭikṛt (Agni) he pronounces the stanza: "Upon the gods" (XIX. 59. 3).

6. After the distribution of the Svaṣṭikṛt-gift he keeps silent until he issues the command for the beginning of subsequent performances.

7. The Adhvaryu places in front close to the Brahman the Prāśitra, which is of the size of a barley-corn and which the former (the Adhvaryu) besmears with the melted butter either at the top or at the bottom.<sup>9</sup>

9 Caland opines that *agreṇa pariharati* does not convey any sense; for extorting a complete meaning one should insert the word *agnim* after

8. He looks to it (the Prāśitra) with the formula: "I look to you with the eye of the sun."

9. He accepts it (the Prāśitra) with the formula: "At the command of god Savitṛ I accept you with the arms of Aśvin and the hands of Puṣan, impelled as I am by the strength of the command."

10. After he has separated the blades of the grass he lays it down (the Prāśitra, preserved in the Prāśitra-haraṇa) by the handle on the ground in the east uttering the formula: "I place you upon the navel of the earth."

11. With the mantras: "To you, equipped with Agni's mouth, you are Ātman; oh Ātman, you should not injure mine, svāhā" he eats the Prāśitra pushing the same into the mouth with the ring-finger and the thumb but without touching the same by the teeth.

12. After the eating of the Prāśitra he speaks: "Into the fire, which is friendly disposed to man and which occurs within the body of the Brahmins, may this Prāśitra be well deposited; let it not injure me in the highest heaven."

13-14. After he has rinsed his face (i.e. sipped water) and has purified himself with water he touches the openings of his head (mouth, nose, eyes, ears) with the words: "May there be voice in my mouth, breath in my nose, sight in the eyes, hearing in the ears, power in the arms, strength in the thighs, quickness in the calves and support in the feet. May all my limbs remain free from injury, may my body be united with the body," (with these last words he touches) the navel.<sup>10</sup>

*agrena*, which once probably occurred but later dropped; indeed he says this on the authority of the Āp. III, 2, 9 and Mān., Śrs 1, 3, 3, 22. The same feature obtains in the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa too.

10 The original sūtra, that reads *mātalyādbbhiḥ*, has been emended by Garbe as *Patrāṇyadbhiḥ*, but Caland does not accept this emendation of Garbe; contrarily he reads *ācamyādbbhiḥ*. We have followed the suggestion of Caland. If we are to follow Garbe we are to translate the relevant portion as: "After he has washed the utensils"...Caland suggests that

15. While there happens the invocation to Iḍā he (the Brahman) pronounces the stanza: "May we find recreation" (VII. 27).

16. The Āgnidhra eats the Saḍavatta with the words: "By the grace of the giver of the earth I eat you, by the grace of the giver of the atmosphere I eat you, by the grace of the giver of the heaven I eat you."

17. They (i. e. the Atharvavedins, among whom the Iḍā is distributed) take the Iḍā-portion with the half-stanza: "The God has you" (VII. 110. 3 downwards) and enjoy the same, while they whisper to themselves: "Oh Indra, with songs" (l. c. cd).

18. In a vessel, in which two purifying grasses are placed, they cleanse themselves with the three stanzas: "The heavenly water" (VII. 89. 1-3).

19-20. To the Anvāhārya pulp, (which is fixed as the sacrificial fee and) which is spread upon the Vedithe sacrificer addresses the following words: "You are the share of Prajāpati, you are strong, plenteous and undecaying, you are dedicated to inexhaustibility, for me may you not be exhausted in the other world—in the life beyond and in this; protect my exhalation (prāṇa), protect my inhalation (apāna), protect my simultaneous breath (sānāna) and the pervasive breath (vyāna), protect my upward breath (udāna) and my body. You are vigour, instil energy into me. May you not be niggardly towards me, who perform the holy work for you, may you not be resourceless with regard to me, who distribute gifts. Obviously I wish to satisfy Prajāpati along with you. Then he hands over the Anvāhārya to the priests as the sacrificial fee."<sup>11</sup>

one should read *āsyān* instead of *āsan*, which has been accepted as the text by Garbe. Gopatha Brāhmaṇa II. 1. 3 too reads: "*vāṇime āsyān iti*" and supports the emendation of Caland.

11 Caland rightly points out that the sūtra 19 and 20 form one sentence, which can be perceived from the connection of the two sūtras. It should be mentioned that Caland omitted a portion of the text in his translation viz, *ūrjasuān payasuān akṣito'si*. Because in his translation

21. After they have taken it, the ritual (which is borrowed from the Kauś. sūtrā 45. 17 and) which is described by the words "Who, this," takes place.

22. The Āgnīdhra is commanded in the performance by the Adhvaryu.

#### IV

1. With the stanza: "Fire-wood you are" (VII. 89. 4) which contains the word fire-wood, the Āgnīdhra places a piece of fire-wood (into the Āhavanīya fire) and for once cleanses the surrounding sticks with the formula: "Oh Agni, the winner of the booty! I have cleansed you, who have won the booty and run a race."

2. (With the mere tuft he fans the Āhavanīya) fire in front (i.e. before himself) with the formula: "Oh Agni I cleanse you, who have conquered and won the booty. You have gained the booty."

3. After the distribution of the gifts of the later sacrifices he (the Brahman) pronounces the stanza: "The Mind finds pleasure in the light and the butter; he leads the sacrifice, which is free from injury, to a successful completion. May Brhaspati take it from us, may All-gods find delight here."

4. During the Anuṣaṭ-call he utters: "Oh you gods, who are in the heaven."

5. During the removal of both the sacrificial spoons he (the Brahman) utters the stanza: "Oh Kāma, remove" (IX. 2.4).

6. During the throwing off of the Prastara (into the Āhavanīya fire) he pronounces the stanza: "Anoint the litter" (VII. 98).

7. During the dedication of the residual gift he utters the stanza: "Oh you gods, who obtain the residual gifts as your shares" (Kauś. sūtra 6-9).

immediately after the portion *Prajāpaterbbāgo'si* the portion *aksityai tvā* appears. We quote the translation of Caland, which runs thus: "des Prajāpati Anteil bist du; der unerschöpflichkeit dich". Caland suggests that the text of Garbe which reads *Prajāpatim* is corrupt and the same should be emended as *prajāpatih*.

8. During the performance of four Patñīsaṁyājas he pronounces the four stanzas: "The glow of the sun did not burn" (VII. 18.2), "Equipped with lustre" (VI. 53. 3), "The wives of the gods" (IX. 7. 6), "A good house-master" (XII. 2. 4 cd).

9. During the dedication of gifts into the Dakṣiṇā fire he pronounces (what is indicated above at I.3 so far as the first two gifts are concerned but) with regard to the third the stanza: "The pounder is within the mortar" (X. 9. 26)<sup>12</sup>

10. The Āgnīdhra throws the brushing tuft into the fire with the stanza: "Which into the fire" (VII. 87).

11. While the wife is detached from the girdle he (the Brahman) utters the stanzas: "I detach from you" (VII 78. 1), "I set you free" (XIV. 1. 57), "I untie you" (XIV. 1. 19).

12. He (the Brahman always) opens the bundle of the Veda with the stanza: "The bundle of the Veda for the welfare" (VII. 28).

13. After the Samiṣṭayajuṣ he (the Brahman) dedicates the concluding gifts with the six stanzas: "Which you brought" (VII. 97. 3-8). ("Oh the lord of the mind" is the best of these.)<sup>13</sup>

14. After the pouring down of the Praṇīta—water he (the Brahman) recites the hymn: "Those, flowing down" (VI. 23).

15. He (the Brahman) instructs the sacrificer with the stanza: "Of whom the preliminary offering" (I. 30. 4).<sup>14</sup>

12 Caland translates *ulukhale musula iti* as: "im morser am stosser." This translation is not happy. So we have translated the same as "The pounder is within the mortar." Further, instead of *Tṛtiya* of the text of Garbe Caland reads *Tritiyam*, which is supported by two manuscripts.

13 On the authority of certain mss. Caland assumes that the expression *samiṣṭayajuṣo* occurs before *yānāvaha iti*. We have followed Caland. Garbe has put within bracket the line *manasaspata ityāsām uttamā*, which he considers to be a later interpolation. Caland supports Garbe here.

14 Caland translates the sūtra as: Mit der Strophe "Welchen die Voroffer" (I. 30. 4) spricht der Opferherr seinen "Wunsch aus". But this translation presupposes a great modification of the text, which



16. After he (the Brahman) has eaten his share of the sacrificial cake with the hymn: "Which food" (VI. 71) he says: "Oh god Savitr, I announce this to you, be urged to do this and offer it (to us). Brhaspati is the Brahman, as such may you protect the sacrifice, as such may you protect the lord of the sacrifice, as such may you protect me, as such may you protect me—who have participated in the sacrifice."<sup>15</sup>

17. After the vessel of water has been emptied upon his stretched palms, that have formed a cavity, the sacrificer passes his hands over his face simultaneously with the recital of the stanza: "Together with the lustre" (VI. 53.3).

18. Between the two back fires (namely the Gārhapatya and the Dakṣiṇāgni) there are certain performances, (which are described in the Kaus. sūtra 6. 14-16), among which the indication of the strides of Viṣṇu, that stand in the south of the Āhavanīya fire is the first and the looking (to certain phenomena) is the last.<sup>16</sup>

Caland has done, namely, the word *yajamāna* is put in the place of the term *yajamānam*. In other words a form in the nominative is suggested for that in the accusative. His observation in this connection deserves notice. He has said: "Bedeutung und Beziehung entgehen mir. Ich meine lesen zu müssen: *yajamāna āśāste*, da dieses Verbum keinen Accus der person neben sich duldet." It is noteworthy that the root *ā+śās* does not give the sense of *to express*, *to disclose* but *to desire*, *wish*, *ask*, *pray*, *hope*, *expect* etc. But in none of the meanings Caland has used the root (i.e. *ā+śās*). So if we intend to interpret the root properly we should translate the sūtra as: "The Brahman prays (for the prosperity of) the sacrifices." It does not require the modification of the text. But there is another meaning of the root *ā+śās*, which is '*to command, ordar, instruct*.' We think that this meaning should be preferred.

15 It should be noticed that the expression *yajamānaḥ*, which occurs as a portion of this sūtra, should go with the following sūtra, which Garbe has mentioned in the appendix. The same has been referred to also by Caland.

16 Caland is doubtful about the real construction and interpretation of the words *antareṇāparāgni*. The words might be according to him, the portions of the previous sūtra. But the difficulty is with regard to

19. With the words: "Oh Agni, the house master" (Kauś. sūtra 70. 9) the sacrificer worships the Gārhapatya fire.<sup>17</sup>

20. After he has stepped forward towards the Āhavanīya fire with the utterance of the stanza: "Under whose wide" (VII. 26. 3) there take place certain performances, which are accompanied by the recital of the hymns: "Exhalation and Inhalation, you are strength" (II. 16, 17).

21. After he has worshipped the Āhavanīya fire with the two stanzas: "This Agni ours" (Kauś. sūtra 89, 13) he enjoys his share (of the sacrificial cake) with the words: "May the lord of the sacrifice be equipped with the blessing."<sup>18</sup>

22. With the stanza: "The observances to the lord of the observance" he (the sacrificer) places into the Āhavanīya fire a piece of firewood, which indicates (the performance of) the task of observance.

23. Even without these performances of the sacrificer one achieves success, which is indicated even by the following two stanzas: "The three namely Pravargya, Yajamāna-mantras and the mantras of the wife, form the unsubstantial part of the sacrifice ; success may be achieved even without them. He

*dakṣiṇenāgnim.* Caland construes it with *Viṣṇukramāt* and we too have followed him. But we think, this may go also with the previous expressions. So according to this construction the translation of the sūtra should be like this: "Between the two back fires (i.e. the Gārhapatya and Dakṣiṇāgni) but in the south of the (Āhavanīya) fire there are executed certain performances, among which the indication of the strides of Viṣṇu is the first and the looking (to certain phenomena) is the last.

17 Caland translates *Gārhapatyam upatiṣṭhate* as: "...redet er (der Offerherr) das Gārhapatya Feuer, sich vor demselben hinstellend ein". But the root *upa+sthā* in the middle gives the sense of 'to worship'.

18 As in the sūtra 19 here too Caland has wrongly interpreted the word *upasthāya*, which he has given as: "Nachdem er, sich vor demselben stellend angeredet hat." Here again, Caland suggests that instead of *sa* one should read *saṁ* and the extract *saṁ yajñapatirāśiṣā* is not a Fratika but a complete Yajus.

derives heroism from the Pravargya, the fulfilment of the desires from the activity of the Yajamāna and long life and posterity from the mantras of the wife; therefore one obtains success from all these."

24. The New and the Fullmoon sacrifices are to be performed for thirty years, while the Dākṣāyaṇa sacrifice for fifteen years.

25. In this case the Full-moon sacrifice is to be performed (first) on the day of the full-moon and (the same should continue) on the following days ; likewise the Newmoon sacrifice on the day of the new-moon and on the days following.

26. Or the Dākṣāyaṇa may continue even for a year.

27. And there are modifications of the New and Full-moon sacrifices, such as, the Sākaṁprasthāyā. By these two (the New and Full-moon sacrifices) which do not permit the shedding of blood, have been explained.

Here ends the First Chapter of the Vaitānasūtra, which is annexed to the Atharva-veda.

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*(To be continued)*

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## Candella Grants in Bhārat Kalā Bhavan

The inscriptions preserved at the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, now attached to the Hindu University, deal with three grants belong to the Candella dynasty, one to king Madanavarman (1129-1163 A. D.) and two to his grandson and successor<sup>1</sup> Paramardin (1166-1232 A. D.). These three inscriptions are being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*; they are briefly noticed here. The fourth inscription,<sup>2</sup> contains a charter issued in Vikrama Samvat 1040 (983 A. D.) by king Harirāja who belonged to the Pratihāra family and was the son of king Nilakaṇṭha. Both these rulers are already known to us from an inscription<sup>3</sup> from Chanderi (old Gwalior State now in Madhya Pradesh). This epigraph, which is fragmentary and undated, has not yet been published. It belongs to a Pratihāra ruler named Jaitravarman and has been assigned on palaeographic grounds to the 11th or 12th century. The genealogy of Jaitravarman is traced in this inscription from Nilakaṇṭha who

1 Paramardin's father Yaśovarman apparently predeceased his father Madanavarman. But the epithet *mahēśvara-śiromaṇi* (i.e. 'the crest-jewel of great rulers'), applied to Yaśovarman in the Baghari inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 212), has led some scholars to believe that he 'had a very short tenure of power, after which he was succeeded by his son Paramardi' (Ray, *DHNI*, p. 712). The epithet, however, is justified even if Yaśovarman was the ruler of a district under his father. If Paramardin really succeeded his father, the latter's name should not have been omitted from the former's charters.

2 Vide my paper in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 309-13.

3 See Bhandarkar's List, No. 2107.

was succeeded by Harirāja, followed by Bhīmadeva, Ratnapāla, Vatsarāja, Svarṇapāla, Kīrtipāla, Abhiyapāla, Govindarāja, Rājarāja, Virarāja and Jaitravarman. Harirāja's grant of 983 A. D. shows that, side by side with the Candellas, these Pratihāras also raised their heads against the Imperial Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj in the second half of the tenth century.<sup>4</sup>

The three Candella charters noticed below resemble other known copper-plate grants of the family in respect of palaeography, orthography and style. Among the three grants, the resemblance in these respects is of course closer between the two records of Paramardin than between those and the charter of Madanavarman. The engraving of the letters is carefully and beautifully done in all the plates, although the preservation of the writing on Paramardin's inscriptions is more satisfactory than in the case of Madanavarman's charter. There is little difference between the forms of the letters *c* and *v* and this fact renders the reading of personal and geographical names doubtful in some cases. The same difficulty is sometimes also noticed in determining the value of a sign which may be taken to be either as the *ā-mātrā* of the preceding consonant or as the *ē-mātrā* of the following letter.

#### 1. *Plates of Madanavarman, V. S. 1192*

The charter was issued by the Candella king Madanavarman on Tuesday, Caitra-vadi 5, Viṣuva-saṅkrānti, in V. S. 1192. The date regularly corresponds to the 24th March 1136 A. D.

The record begins with a variety of the symbol for *siddham* followed by the word *svasti*. Then follows the stanza generally used in Candella grants to introduce the family of the Candrā-

4 Elsewhere I have tried to show that it was these Pratihāras who were the Gurjaras defeated by Candella Yaśovarman according to the Khajuraho inscription (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 311). They appear to have been a branch of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj and originally owed allegiance to the latter. At first they appear to have been viceroys of the Kālāñjara region whence they were driven out towards the west by Candella Yaśovarman.

treya (Candella) kings. This is followed by a passage in prose which introduces the reigning monarch, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* Madanavarman who was a devout worshipper of the god Mahesvara (Śiva) and the lord of Kālāñjara. The king is described as the successor of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* Pṛthivīvarman who himself succeeded *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* Kīrtivarman and as belonging to the family rendered famous by the birth of such heroes as Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti. The above is followed in lines 4-7 by two stanzas eulogising king Madanavarman. The first of these, already known from the Semra plates<sup>5</sup> of Paramardin, says how the creator endowed the king with a multitude of good qualities. The second verse says how the king's liberality put the mythical wish-fulfilling trees on the golden mountain (Sumeru) to shame.

The grant portion begins in line 7 and records the king's order addressed to the Brāhmaṇas and other people including officials, agriculturists, scribes, messengers, physicians *mahattaras* (heads of villages), Medas and Caṇḍālas, assembled at Valahauḍā-grāma in the *viṣaya* or district of Mahiṣiṇeha. The order was in respect of the grant of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  *padas* out of 8 *padas* of cultivable land within the said village, which was made by the king on the date discussed above from his camp at Pareyī-grāma. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa, *Paṇḍita* Someśarman, who belonged to the Kautsa *gotra* and the Āṅgīrasa, Āmbaṛiṣa and Yauvanāśva *pravaras*. He was the son of *Thakkura* śrī-Śrīpāla, grandson of *Dvivēda* Sahāraṇa and great-grandson of *Avasathin* (probably meaning 'the teacher of a school') Devaḍha. His family hailed from the *Bhaṭṭ-agrahāra* of Pāṭaliputra. Whether the gift land was made a rent-free holding is not stated in the inscription.

The record of the above grant is followed by that of others made in favour of two other Brāhmaṇas, the first of whom was *Dikṣita* Nārāyaṇaśarman who belonged to the Gautama *gotra* and the Gautama. Āṅgīrasa and Ayāsya *pravaras*. He was the son

of *Dikṣita* Devendra, grandson of *Dikṣita* Vāmanasvāmin and great-grandson of *Dikṣita* Késava, and his family hailed from the *Bhaṭṭ-āgrahāra* of Paṇikavaḍa. It is stated that originally Astavāla-grāma in Eraccha-pattalā was granted to Nārāyaṇasārman in exchange for the lands in his possession at Pipalahā in Tintirī-pattalā, Vasauhā in Kolavā-pattalā, Goulā in Vāndiuri-pattalā, Dādarī in Navaraṭṭha-pattalā and Denavāḍa in Mahisiṇeha-pattalā. Now the king granted to the same Brāhmaṇa four *padas* of land (apparently at Valahauḍā-grāma in Mahisiṇeha-pattalā) in exchange for Astavāla-grāma and the lands in his possession at Pipalahā-grāma in Tintirī-pattalā and at Valahauḍā-grāma in Mahisiṇeha-pattalā and Ḍāvaha (or Ḍaveha)-grāma in Nandāvaṇa (or Nandaveṇa-pattalā which he had received respectively from Nādūka, the priest attached to *Rājñi* Lakhamādevī, and Someka, son of *Ṭhakkura* śrī-Śrīpāla.

The third donee was the Brāhmaṇa Sahajūsarman who was a brother of Someśarman or Someka mentioned above. It is stated that he received from the king  $1\frac{3}{4}$  *padas* of land (apparently at Valahauḍā-grāma in Mahisiṇeha-pattalā) in exchange for his lands at Pipalahā-grāma in Tintirī-pattalā and Mahuālī-grāma in Kolavāpattalā. He is stated to have received the lands in the two villages respectively from *Mahārājñi* Vālhaṇadevī and *Rājñi* Cāṇḍaladevī (or Candeladevī). It is said that these grants were made by the queens with the king's permission.

The conditions of the grant, which are the same as in other Candella charters, are quoted in lines 29-33. Some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 34-40. This is followed by a passage conveying the king's consent to the grants and must have been originally endorsed by the king himself on the original document that was later engraved on the plates. Then follow in lines 41-43 two stanzas, the first of which says that the copper-plate charter was written by the *Dharmā-lekhin* Sūḍha who belonged to the Vāstavya community. The same person also wrote the Augasi grant<sup>6</sup> of Madanavarman.

The contractions *ṭha* and *sī* before his name in that record stands for *ṭhakkura* and *śrī*. The same verse was utilised with slight modification by Pṛthvīdhata and Śubhānanda who wrote respectively the Semra<sup>7</sup> and Pachar<sup>8</sup> copper-plate grants of Paramardin. The present plates were engraved by the *viññānin* Uheṇo who belonged to the *Ritikāra* (i.e. *Kāmsyakāra* or brazier) community. The record concludes with a *maṅgala* and also a set of three symbols or contractions thrice quoted. The meaning of these cannot be determined.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kālāñjara is the well-known hill-fort in the Banda District of U.P., which was one of the centres of Candella power. The grant was made when the king was staying at Pareyī-grāma while the various plots of gift land were situated at Valahauḍā-grāma in the *viṣaya* or *pattalā* (i.e. district) of Mahisīṇha. The families of the donees hailed from Pāṭaliputra, rather inaccurately called a *Bhaṭṭ-āgrahāra* (i.e. a rent-free locality in the possession of learned Brāhmaṇs), and Paṇikavaḍa-bhaṭṭāgrahāra. Pāṭaliputra is no other than the wellknown ancient city of that name, which stood near modern Patna in Bihar. The other villages mentioned are: (1) Pīpalahā in Tintirī-pattalā, (2) Vasauhā in Kolavā-pattalā, (3) Goulā in Vāndiuri-pattalā, (4) Dādārī in Navaraṭha-pattalā, (5) Denavāḍa in Mahisīṇha-pattalā, (6) Astavāla in Eraccha-pattalā, (7) Ḍāvaha or Ḍaveha in Nandāvaṇa (or Nandaveṇa)-pattalā and Mahuālī in Kolavā-pattalā. The *Pattalā* of Nandavaṇa or Nandaveṇa is mentioned in the Ichchawar plate<sup>9</sup> of Paramardin as Nandāvaṇa-viṣaya which may be identified with the district round Ichchhawar in the Pailānī Tahsil of the Banda District, U.P. Navaraṭha-pattalā seem to be the same as the Navrāṣṭra-maṇḍala *viṣaya* of the Charkhari plates<sup>10</sup> while the name of Vāndiuri reminds us to that of the Banda District. Eraccha is mentioned as a *viṣaya* in the Mahoba

7 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, p. 170.

8 *Ibid.*, vol. X, p. 49.

9 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXV, p. 205. 10 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, pp. 128 ff.



plates<sup>11</sup> and is believed to have been the district round modern Érich about 60 miles from Mahoba. Dr. S. K. Mitra suggested to me the identification of Tintirī-pattalā with the Teonthar Tahsil of the former Rewa State and the connection of Pipalahā with the Pipaleau-durga mentioned in the Alhaghat inscription.<sup>12</sup>

## 2. Plate of Paramardin, V. S. 1239

The date of the document is quoted in lines 8-9 as Tuesday, Phālguna-vadi 4, V. S. 1239. It corresponds to the 23rd February 1182 A.D.

The beginning of the record in lines 1-6 is similar to that of Madanavarman's grant noticed above. But, instead of Madanavarman, *Paramabbhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* Paramardin, who was likewise a devout worshipper of Maheśvara and the lord of Kālāñjara, is introduced here as the successor of *Paramabbhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* Madanavarman who himself succeeded *Paramabbhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* Prṅhvīvarman and as belonging to the family of the Candrātreyā rulers. There is no versified eulogy of the reigning monarch in the present record as in Madanavarman's grant.

The grant portion beginning in line 6 records the king's order addressed to the Brāhmaṇas and others assembled at Vavaudā-grāma in the Duḍuhī *viṣaya*. The order relates to the grant of the said village made by the king when he was stationed at Sallakṣaṇavilāsapura, on the date discussed above, in favour of *Paṁ* (i. e. *Paṇḍita*) Padumadharaśarman (i.e. Padmadharaśarman) who belonged to the Kautsa *gotra* and Vājasaneya *śākhā* and was the son of *Ṭha* (i.e. *Ṭhakkura*) Dhāim, grandson of *Ṭha* Srīpāla and great-grandson of *Ṭha* Sahāraṇa. His family hailed from Pāṭaliputra-nagara. It will be seen that the donee of this grant was the son of a brother of Someśarman or Someka known from Madanavarman's charter.

The conditions of the grant (lines 13-17) are similar to those of Madanavarman's grant. The imprecatory and benedictory

11 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVI, pp. 9-15. 12 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 213-14.

stanzas are quoted in lines 17-19. This is followed by the king's endorsement on the original document that was later copied on the plates. Line 20, with which the record ends, mentions the *Dharma-lekbin Tbhakkura* Viṣṇuka who wrote the charter and Pālhaṇa who engraved it on the plates. The other charters of Paramardin were also engraved by Pālhaṇa who is called a *pitālabhāra* (brazier) in the Semra plates<sup>13</sup> of 1165 A. D., *śilpin* and *varṇa-ghaṭanā-vaidagdhī-viśvakarman* in the Ichchawar plates<sup>14</sup> of 1172 A. D. and the Pachar plates<sup>15</sup> of 1176 A. D., and *vijñānin* in the Mahoba plates<sup>16</sup> of 1173 A. D. But Viṣṇuka was not the writer of any of those charters. The writer of the first three grants was Pṛthvīdhara and that of the fourth charter Subhānanda, both belonging to the Vāstavya-Kāyastha community.

Of geographical names, the inscription mentions, besides Kālāñjara, Sallakṣaṇavilāsapura whence the grant was made by the king, and the gift village of Vavaudā in Duḍuhī-viṣaya. Sallakṣaṇavilāsapura seems to have been named after Sallakṣaṇavarman who was the elder brother of Pṛthivīvarman, great-grandfather of Paramardin. The locality may be the same as Vilāsapura whence Paramardin issued his Ichchhawar and Pachar plates. It has been suggested that Vilāsapura is the same as modern Páchar about 12 miles to the north-east of Jhansi in U. P.<sup>17</sup> Duḍuhī-viṣaya seems to have been the district round modern Dudahi in the Lalitpur sub-division of the Jhansi District. The name of the place, whence the donee's family hailed, is quoted here as Pāṭaliputra-nagara (not Pāṭaliputra-bhaṭṭāgrahāra as in Madanavarman's grant).

### 3. Plate of Paramardin, V. S. 1247

The date of the charter is quoted in lines 9-10 as Saturday, Phālguna-śudi 14, V. S. 1247. It corresponds regularly to the 9th February 1191 A. D.

13 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, p. 170.

14 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXV, p. 208.

16 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVI, p. 15.

15 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. X. p. 49.

17 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. X, p. 46.

The beginning of the document is similar to that of Paramardin's charter of V. S. 1239 noticed above. The grant portion commencing in line 6 refers to the king's order addressed to the Brāhmaṇas and other people assembled at Itālā-grāma in the Pāsūṇi *viṣaya* in respect of the grant of 10 *lāvas* of land in the said village. The king made the grant on the date discussed above when he was at the Maṇikarnikā-ghaṭṭa at śrī-Vārāṇasī (i. e. modern Banaras in U. P.) apparently in the course of a pilgrimage. In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to believe that the Banaras region formed a part of Paramardin's dominions about the time of the record. The Gāhaḍavāla kings are known to have had their headquarters at Vārāṇasī and, according to tradition, the contemporary Gāhaḍavāla monarch Jayaccandra (c. 1170-93 A. D.) maintained friendly relations with Paramardin whom he is said to have helped in his wars against the Cāhamāna king Pṛthvīrāja III (c. 1178-92 A. D.).<sup>18</sup> A recent writer has, however, suggested that Candella Paramardin was really on hostile terms with Gāhaḍavāla Jayaccandra.<sup>19</sup> But there is really no proof in favour of this suggestion and the present inscription referring to the Candella king's stay at Vārāṇasī seems to go against it. If Paramardin succeeded in capturing the Gāhaḍavāla capital even for a short time, that fact is not expected to have been suppressed in his records like the one under review.

The donee of the present charter was Padmadharaśarman already known from the other grant of the king noticed above. The conditions of grant, quoted in lines 12-16, are the same as in the other record. The document ends with the imprecatory and benedictory stanzas quoted in lines 16-18. It seems that the writing was continued on another plate which is now lost. But the inscription on this lost plate would have contained only the passage *sua-basto = yañ rāja-śrī-Paramarddidevasya matañ mama*

<sup>18</sup> Ray, *DHNI*, p. 541.

<sup>19</sup> N. Bose, *History of the Candellas*, pp. 96-97.

together with a reference to the names of the writer and engraver of the document.

Of geographical names, besides Kālāñjara, the inscription mentions Maṇikārṇika-ghaṭṭa at Vārāṇasī (i.e. the well-known Maṇikārṇikā Ghāṭ at Banaras), where the king was staying at the time of making the grant, and the village of Iṭalā in Pāśuṇi-viṣaya, where the gift land was situated. The name of the locality, whence the donee's family hailed, is quoted in the present record at Pāṭalipura instead of Pāṭaliputra or Pāṭalīputra as found in the two inscriptions noticed above.

D. C. SIRCAR

## Bhāsa

गणपतिं नमस्कृते मद्दिदयकमतमम् ।

नमसां विघ्नरूपाणां प्रलयः स्मृतिमावतः ॥

The epoch-making discovery of the so-called Trivandrum dramas round about 1913 to 1915, was hailed by some scholars while it was criticised by another section of scholars. Some like Pisharoti who were ardent admirers in the beginning have since set their face against Dr. Ganapathi Sastriar and are finding fault with him. But the Pandit's theory has in the meantime found new admirers like Dr. V. S. Sukthankar. Opinion is sharply divided between those who ascribe these dramas to the time-honoured Bhāsa, referred to as *prathitayaśas* by Kālidāsa and those who ascribe them to an unknown poetaster who has usurped a time-honoured name. If some scholars believe that these dramas were written by Bhāsa, others equally assert that they do not possess such high excellence and that they must have been composed by a plagiarist perhaps later than the seventh century A. D. Certain scholars are prepared to concede that these dramas might contain some of those excellences since they should be taken to represent stage adaptations of the once famous dramas which are irretrievably lost to us.

Whichever way the truth may lie, the popularity of these dramas is attested by their innumerable translations into all the North and South Indian languages. Some like *Svapna Vāsavadattā* have been translated into German, French and Italian; *Avimāraka* into German and Italian, *Cārudatta* and *Madhyama Vyāyoga* into Norwegian, *Urubhaṅga* and *Bālacarita* into German, *Abhiṣeka* into Italian—Dr. Sukthankar supplied these statistics more than thirty years ago. Dr. Winternitz agrees that they are to be counted among the most valuable treasures of the Indian literature.

Various scholars assign different dates to this dramatist and we summarise them thus:—

1. Bhīde, Dikshitar, Haraprasad Sastri	6th cen. B.C.
2. Pusalkar, Ganapathi Sastri, Jahgirdar, Kulkarani	4th „ „
3. Choudhry, Dhruva and Jayaswal	2nd „ „
4. Konow, Lindeneau, Sarup, Weller	2nd „ A.D.
5. Banerji Sastri, Bhandarkar, Jolly, Jacobi, Keith	3rd „ „
6. Lesny and Winternitz	4th „ „
7. K. G. Sankar	5th „ „
8. Barnett, Devadhar, Hirananda Sastri	7th „ „
9. P. V. Kane	9th „ „
10. Ramavatara Sarma Pandeya	11th „ „
11. Rangacharya Reddi	11th „ „

I agree with Jayaswal and Dhruva and assign him to the end of the 2nd cen. B.C., but on fresh grounds. The *Bālacarita* seems to have been written with the express purpose of inspiring his patron Puṣyamitra to murder his master Bṛhadratha and seize the throne for himself. The *Dhanurmaha* got up by Kaiśa answers exactly to the *army mêlée* organised by Puṣyamitra at the end of which Bṛhadratha was quietly murdered. The adjective अनुगतार्थनामधेय as applied to Ugrasena in the drama is practically without any significance at all, but some sense can be made out of the same if we apply it to the patron for whose benefit the drama must have been first staged. The almost bloodless revolution suggested in the drama had its salutary effect on the patron. On this supposition, Bhāsa should have been a contemporary of Puṣyamitra and Patañjali. The latter in III. 1.2 refers to the शोभनिकाः or dramatic troupes staging *Kaṁsavadha*. This should have been most probably the same as Bhāsa's *Bālacarita* itself: ये तावदेते शोभनिका नामैते प्रखलं कंसं घातयन्ति etc. Patañjali's testimony clearly proves that *Bālacarita* might have had another title *Kaṁsavadha* (Sri Ramakrishna Kavi mentions how other dramas of this series had alternative titles also—गदायुद्ध or ऊरुभङ्ग, कर्णभार or कुण्डलाहरण, अभिषेक, or रामाभिषेक,

प्रतिमा or प्रतिमाराम or प्रतिमादशरथ). Kṣīrasvāmin, commenting on the Amarakośa क्षत्रियवर्ग explaining मगडलेश्वर (p. 76, Poona Oriental Series) quotes शूद्रकस्तृप्तिमित्रा वा हालस्याच्छालिवाहनः. It seems probable that Sūdraka and Agnimitra were identical. This gives us a partial clue to understand the mysterious śloka in the मृच्छकटिक प्रस्तावना —

ऋग्वेदं मामवेदं गणितमथ कलां वैशिकीं हस्तिशिक्षां

ज्ञात्वा सर्वप्रसादाद्युपगतनिमिरे चक्षुषी चोपलभ्य

राजानं वीक्ष्य पुत्रं परमसमुदयेनाश्रमेधेन चेष्ट्वा

लब्ध्वा चायुः शताब्दं दशदिनसहितं शूद्रकोऽस्मिं प्रविष्टः ॥

The name ज्वलनमित्रं is given to Bhāsa by Vākpati, the author of the *Gāṇḍavaho*. Sūdraka speaks of himself as entering into fire in this verse, perhaps he might have come out of the same unscathed just like अत्रिमारक in Bhāsa's drama, who jumped into the fire out of sheer despair, only to be embraced by his father, the fire-god. Vaiśikī and Hastiśikṣā, the two arts in which Sūdraka speaks of himself as having specialised, are also mastered by most of Bhāsa's heroes and a हस्तिशिक्षा is actually referred to in Bhāsa's प्रतिज्ञा. Sūdraka also refers to himself as द्विजमुह्यन्तम exactly as the Brahmin Puṣyamitra.

### *Post Aśokan Society*

The society depicted in these dramas agrees admirably with the supposition that Bhāsa should have been a protégé of Puṣyamitra. Buddhism was slowly growing into disfavour with the general populace and Bhāsa must have popularised Hinduism among the masses with his Paurāṇika themes. Puṣyamitra performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice and thereby inaugurated the Brahmanical revival.

### *The Rājasimha Theory*

Seven of these dramas contain the bharata vākya

इमां सागरपर्यन्तां हिमवद्विन्ध्यकुरण्डलां ।

महीमेकातपलाङ्गां राजसिंहः प्रशास्तु नः ॥

*Their chronological order*

Rāma dramas	Bhārata and early Kṛṣṇa legend	Bṛhatkathā or Folklore
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The inclusion of the recently published Yajñaphala is objected to by Sahitevallabha Sri Sundarachariar and also by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja in the Hindu Literary Supplement (of Madras).

Dr. Pusalkar believes that *Dūtavākya* should have been written first followed by *Kaṇabhāra*, *Dūtaghaṭṭakā*, *Ūrubhaṅga*, *Madhyama Vyāyoga*, *Pañcarātra*, *Abhiṣeka*, *Bālacarita*, *Avimāraka*, *Pratimā*, *Pratijñāyugandharāyana*, *Svapnavāsavadattā* and *Cārudatta*. Justice A. S. P. Ayyar also believes that *Dūtavākya* should have been his first drama and the *Cārudatta* the last which was left incomplete by his death. But his order is slightly



different, the order being, Karnaabhāra, Madhyamavyāyoga, Bālacarita, Abhiṣeka, Pañcarātra, Dūtaghaṭotkaca, Ūrubhaṅga, Avimāraka, Pratimā, Pratiṣṭhā, Svapna, and Cārudatta. Both do not supply any reason for the particular order they prefer. But I cannot see eye to eye with either in regard to the first or last drama or even in respect of the gradual order. Tradition regards the Svapnavāsavadattā as his best drama as recorded by Rājasekhara in the literary fire-test

आमनाटकचक्रेऽपि छेदः क्षिप्ते परीक्षितुम्

स्वप्नवामवदत्तस्य दाहकोऽभून्न पावकः ॥

The Cārudatta is not at all incomplete, and to argue that it was left so by his death is incorrect. The five one-act dramas are really “gems of the purest ray serene” and they might be regarded in their chronological order as the best productions of the middle formative period. Hence I should prefer the following order, starting of course with the Bālacarita for reasons stated already. Avimāraka exhibiting the least dramatic genius and more of supernatural element might come up next. Abhiṣeka might intervene next to commemorate Puṣyamitra’s accession. Thus the order might be Bālacarita, Avimāraka, Abhiṣeka, Madhyamavyāyoga, Dūtavākya, Dūtaghaṭotkaca, Karnaabhāra, Ūrubhaṅga, Pañcarātra, Cārudatta, Pratimā, Pratiṣṭhā and Svapna. There is a progressive growth in dramatic technique, skill and originality; the humourist, the romancer, the poet and the politician seem to have been harmonised into a myriad-minded personality, as in Tagore or Tennyson.

### *Every day life in Vātsyāyana, Bhāsa and the Lalita Vistara*

Though the Dharmasāstras dominated the daily life of the ancient Indian, it is interesting to know that he was fully alive to the cheerful life around him, that he had his aesthetic tastes and artistic pursuits of the fine arts, that his social structure was a harmonious blend of *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, dignified into a ‘*trivarga*’ leading ultimately to *mokṣa*. Vātsyāyana, of about the 2nd cen. B.C. depicts the gay life of

the *nāgaraka*, the city-bred man of fashion in his times—his palatial house and garden, equipped with parks and swimming pools, his daily round of pleasures, his sports and festivities, and his all round versatile culture. The गणिका or the prostitute, by virtue of her attainments and skill in all the 64 fine arts enumerated by Vātsyāyana, played an important part in the social life of the times. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, slightly prior, reflects this position correctly; Bhāsa's *Cārudatta* also coming soon after towards the end of the 2nd cen., is one who has run through his fortune, a भुक्विभवः in Vātsyāyana's language<sup>1</sup>. The every day life in Bhāsa's dramas corresponds to Vātsyāyana's account. Several principalities with their fortified capitals, like the ancient city-states of Greece, had already grown up, and this is testified to by Kauṭilya and Megasthenes who show that there were big cities with civic governments and municipal organisations. The Buddhist works following soon after, the *Lalitā Vistara* and Aśvaghoṣa's two famous epics, the *Saundarananda* and the *Buddhacarita* also depict an almost similar society (in 150 A.D.).

To take but a few examples, the description of the palace of Kuraṅgī in the *Avimāraka* of Bhāsa, answers to the *Kāmasūtra* description of the palace of the Nāgaraka, the fashionable citizen of the time. The thief Avimāraka, the hero, enters into the same by night, and the houses on either side of the street are reverberating with the music played on various instruments by the lovers locked in each others' embrace. The palace must have been in close proximity to a lake and was divided into two parts, the inner belonging to the ladies and the outer, where the master of the house received guests. The house had wide grounds all round, possessing वृक्षवाटिकाः or flowering plants and fruit trees. This garden was attached to the अन्तःपुरं or the female apartments. The *Abhiṣeka* of Bhāsa, for example, refers to the special care with which Maṇḍodarī personally superintended the अशोकवनिका and in

1 Vātsyāyana (Chowkhamba ed.), S. 45, p. 50.

the *Svapnavāsavadattā*, the queen Padmāvatī herself watered the plants and raised flowers so that Udayana, her husband, might come there and rejoice. Swimming pools for the lovers for their जलकोडा as described by Vātsyāyana, are described as स्नानगृह in Bhāsa's language both in the *Svapna* and *Avimāraka* and there are स्थण्डिलानि or raised platforms with pleasant and comfortable seats for recreation.<sup>2</sup> This is similar to the scene in act IV of the *Svapna* where the Vidūṣaka and Udayana sit on a स्थण्डिल in the प्रमदवन overhearing the talk of Padmāvatī and Vāsavadattā who might themselves have been seated on another स्थण्डिल nearby. The former confesses that she kept the garden and its leafy arbours scrupulously clean and arranged the scented flowering creepers artistically so that they might soothen the eyes and the heart of Udayana. The distinction between a हर्म्य and a प्रासाद as explained in Buddhistic works like the *जुल्लवग्ग* is known to Bhāsa in the *Avimāraka* and also to Vātsyāyana. The description of the inner apartments furnished in the *Kāmasūtra* tallies with that provided for us in the *Avimāraka* or in the *Svapna* scene. The वीणा, the national musical instrument in ancient India, is Bhāsa's favourite in the *Svapna*, and the other hero of the drama *Cārudatta* has broken musical instruments in his house and often returns home late in the night after attending music concerts. Cārudatta's प्राचारक or upper cloth is sweetly perfumed and his यौवनं is अनुदासीनं (I p. 26 T. S. S.) In Nanda's house in Kapilavastu when Buddha entered into it, some of the maids were preparing perfumed paste while others were perfuming the clothes.<sup>3</sup> In the *Lalitavistara*, king शुद्धोदन orders that all those attending on मायादेवी in her journey to the लुम्बिनी garden should wear soft and fine clothes, coloured with pleasant dyes and smelling sweet with best scents.<sup>4</sup>

2 Vide *Kāmasūtra* 17, p. 201. बहुपुष्पान् । बालकोशीरपातालिकाश्च  
वृक्षनाटिकायां च स्थण्डिलानि मनोज्ञानि कारयेत् ।

3 काचित् पिपेषाद्भिलेपनं हि वासोऽङ्गना काचिदवासयच्च

4 वरसुरभिसुगन्धां भावरङ्गां विचित्रां वसनमृदुमनोज्ञां प्रावृणीथा उदघ्रा।  
VII. 80 and शांघ्रं गृह्यत नागपुष्परचिरां वस्त्रां सुगन्धां शुभाम् XVIII. 282.

The same text refers to the perfumed garment of the exquisite colour of the नागकेसर.

A गोष्ठी or social gathering where a नागरक regales himself in a pleasant talk with गणिकाः or prostitutes or men of his own status was quite common in Vātsyāyana's days as also in Bhāsa's. Literary discussion also took place there and Vātsyāyana directs a नागरक to lavish money on these गोष्ठि, particularly as his success in courtship and love depended in no small measure on his power to shine in the sports and festivities called समाज.<sup>5</sup>

Bhāsa's Vīdūṣaka, who was by the way गोष्ठीषु हास्यः, was humorous at such learned assemblies. In the *Avim.* V, the maids invite the Vīdūṣaka to narrate a story which they would listen to among their गोष्ठीजन in the inner courts, Married women instituting such गोष्ठी for artistic and literary discussions were looked upon with suspicion, but with the permission of their husbands, they invited such parties in their houses at the time. An unmarried girl was also fond of these as she could slowly apprentice herself to married state in these gatherings.

Similarly another diversion very dear to a नागरक was, according to Vātsyāyana, उद्यानयात्रा.<sup>6</sup> At the end of the IV act in the *Svapna*, such a party is arranged in honour of Padmāvatī's marriage. Round Kapilavastu, as recorded in the *Lalitavistara* as many as 500 gardens were raised for Bodhisattva's diversions, and the Bodhisattva went out through the city gates for enjoying himself therein—पञ्च चोद्यानशतानि प्रादुर्बभूवुः बोधिसत्त्वस्य परिभोगाय (VII. 95). In the *Kāmasūtra*, these gardens are referred to as being outside the town and whole days are spent there, seeing

- 5 या गोष्ठी लोकविद्विष्टा या च स्वैरविसर्पिणी ।  
परहिंसात्मिका या च न तामवतरेद्दुधः ॥  
लोकचित्तानुवर्तिन्या क्रोडामालैकार्थया  
गोष्ठ्या सह चरन्विद्वान् लोके सिद्धिं नियच्छति ॥

वास्यायन, p. 52 सूत्र 51-52.

- 6 इमां गृहीत्वा चतुःशालं गोष्ठीजनेन सह वृत्तान्तं शृणोमि (T. S. S. p. 86.) मूढ ब्राह्मण, चतुःशाल उपविश्य गोष्ठीजनेन सह शृणोमि (p. 87.)

fights of cocks, quails or having other diversions.<sup>7</sup> Such a description almost tallies with that in *Mṛcchakatika*; *Cārudatta*, because of his poverty, is going out in a bullock cart (not on horse-back). Vātsyāyana advises a king with many wives, to please all by such garden-parties प्रेक्षोद्यानत्यागशीलः एकैकामनुरञ्जयेत्, p. 245. Kalidāsa also refers to such बाह्योद्यान near the outskirts of a city in his *Meghadūta* I.7 and *Kumār*. VI-46 यस्यचोपवनं बाह्यं and also in उत्तरमेघ 47 where he says whole nights are spent there in the शरच्चन्द्रिका. Similarly the दल्लोमक accompanied by dancing and music and slightly different from the रामक्रीडा of the भागवत (where both sexes participated) is referred to by Vātsyāyana as being popular in his time. Bhāsa describes the same almost in similar terms in the *Bāla-carita*. This is again similar to the कामदेवानुयान in *Cārudatta* II (and also to the मदनोद्यानयात्रा which is a late imitation of the अविमारक). Vātsyāyana says that the girls delighted in making flower gardens, playing with dolls or playing games of dice and 'close fists' etc. Bhāsa refers to Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī playing such games with balls and the former's skill in weaving सपत्नीमर्दन and अविवधाकरण flowers in the II act of the *Svapna*. Kālidāsa refers to such Yakṣakanyās whose hands were prayed for in marriage by gods, playing on the Mandākinī sand dunes.<sup>8</sup> The qualities enumerated by शुद्धोदन as requisite for a bride for the young सिद्धार्थ in *Lalitavistara* XII 138 remind us of the virtues listed for the bridegroom by Mahāsenā in *Pratijñā* II 4.<sup>9</sup>

The joint family system seems to have been the general rule in the times of Vātsyāyana, Bhāsa and contemporary Buddhist Jātakas. The earliest Dharmaśāstra writer Gautama had decreed

7 — पूर्वाह्न एव खलङ्कृताः तुरगाधिरुढाः वेश्याभिः सह परिचारिकानुगता गच्छेयुः । दैवसिक्ता च यात्रां तलैवानुभूय कुक्कुटेलावकमेण युद्धघूतैः प्रेक्षाभिः अनुकूलैः च चेष्टितैः कालं गमयित्वाऽपराह्णे गृहीततदुद्यानोपभोगचिह्नाः तथैव प्रत्याव्रजेयुः । एतेन रचितोद्गाहकानां ग्रीष्मे जलक्रीडागमनं व्याख्यातम्—कामसूत्र p. 53.

8 अन्वेष्टव्यैः कनकसिकतामुष्टि निक्षेपगुदैः सक्रीडन्ते मणिभिरमरप्रार्थिता यत्न कन्याः । उत्तरमेघ 4.

9 कुलं तावच्छ्राध्यं प्रथममभिकांक्षे हि मनसा etc. II 4

सर्वे' वा पूर्वजस्य, इतरान् बिभृमात् पितृवत् XXVIII. 3. Manu also had decreed similarly ज्येष्ठ एव तु गृह्णीयात्पितृव्यं धनमशेषतः and according to Bhāsa, Duryodhana, the eldest among the 105 brothers (unlike as in the Bhārata epic where Yudhiṣṭhira alone is the eldest and Duryodhana precedes Bhīmasena by a few hours) was the rightful heir to the entire paternal property. If the Pāṇḍavas chose to deny themselves of the shelter offered by Duryodhana, it was not the latter's fault at all. Bhīṣma and Droṇa had no necessity from Bhāsa's point of view, to argue, as in the Bhārata epic.<sup>10</sup> That they had eaten Duryodhana's salt and so had to fight on his behalf even against their own conscience.

Polygamy seems to have been the rule, particularly among the wealthy. Vātsyāyana speaks of a king with thousand wives, which of course means only many<sup>11</sup>. Bhāsa speaks of Mahāsena's wife as being the eldest among the 16 wives षोडशान्तः पुरज्येष्ठा. The *Lalitavistara* says that मायादेवी was the best and the greatest of the thousands of the wives of शुद्धोदन<sup>12</sup>. Vātsyāyana also knows some नागरक्स who may be devoted to one wife alone, एकचारिणः as he calls them p. 49. Āśvaghoṣa's Nanda in the सौन्दरनन्द was such a person. The Dharmaśāstras allowed the husband to marry again in case the first wife bore him no sons or bore him only girls or if the family was in danger of losing a spiritual heir. Udayana, the hero of *Svapna*, though devoted to his wife Vāsavadattā, had to marry Padmāvatī as his kingship was in danger. Vātsyāyana even suggests that the senior wife should induce the husband to marry again and look upon the younger wife as her own sister. This is practically what Bhāsa delineates in the *Svapna*. The husband, according to Vātsyā-

10 अर्थस्य पुरुषो दासो दासस्तथो न कस्यचित् ।

इति सत्यं महाराज बद्धोऽस्म्यर्थेन कौरवैः ॥ 43rd अध्याय

(Kumbhak Edn.)

11 सहस्रान्तः पुरमपि स्ववशे कुरुते पतिम्.

12 शुद्धोदनस्य प्रमदा प्रधाना नारीसहस्रेषु च साप्रप्राप्ता 28. Āśvaghoṣa in his *Buddhacarita* I, 15 remarks similarly—समप्रदेवीनिवहाप्रदेवी बभूव मायोपगतेव माया.

yana, should not be partial towards any one and should not allow any offence of one against another to pass unnoticed, p. 213. Women in those days were usually confined to the inner suite of the apartments, and guarded against intrusion from strangers. Only Brahmins of approved character were allowed inside under exceptional circumstances as for example the disguised Vidūṣaka in the *Pratijñā* or the *Avimāraka*. Brahmins were reputed to be speakers of truth as in the *Bālacarita* or *Cārudatta*. Bhāsa's Vasantasenā, further was not entitled to enter into Brahmin houses, particularly Cārudatta's inner courtyard—अभागिनी अहं अभ्यन्तरप्रवेशाय p. 26 T.S.S.I act. Married women usually appeared in public with a veil over their faces as is clear from the last act in the *Svapna* drama where Vāsavadattā's veil has to be removed just before her final recognition. Rāma directs his wife Sītā to remove her veil at the end of I act in *Pratimā* just before their departure<sup>13</sup>.

Vātsyāyana almost echoes this language when he said (p. 189) यज्ञे विवाहे यात्रायां उत्सवे व्यसने प्रेक्षणक व्यापृते जने तल दृष्टेक्षिताकारां परोक्षितभावा एकाकिनीमुपक्रमेन. Both Vātsyāyana and Bhāsa esteemed the गणिका who was having an honoured place in society as she was an art-connoisseur specialising in all the 64 fine arts listed by Vātsyāyana and Aśvaghoṣa, slightly later, remarks in the fragments of शारीपुत्रप्रकरण discovered by Dr. Luders: महान् खलु आमोदः गणिकाकुले. These गणिकाः had to pay income tax according to Kauṭilya, but they were exempted by Vātsyāyana. These and the daughters of the kings and nobles were highly educated in the śāstras. Women could have higher education if they so desired. Vātsyāyana suggests that such women might earn a decent living even in foreign countries by their knowledge of the various sciences. Manu also almost contemporaneously declared that if women were away from their husbands, a decent living with the help of शिल्प was not at all reprehensible for them—प्रोषिते तु अविधायैव जीवेत् शिल्पैरगर्हितैः.....शुद्धोदन desired that his son's wife should

13 स्वैर' हि पश्यन्तु कलत्रमेतत्बाष्पाकुलाक्षैः वदनैर्भवन्तः ।

निर्दोषदृश्या हि भवन्ति नार्यो यज्ञे विवाहे व्यसनेषु चैव ॥

be well-versed in the śāstras and skilled in the arts even like a गणिका-शाल्मे विधिज्ञकुशला गणिका यथैव. *Lalita* XII. 139. In the ऊरुभङ्ग, Bhāsa has occasion to refer to the two wives of Duryodhana (the epic has only one Bhānumatī), one of whom decides to follow him in death. This practice of अनुमरण is also referred to by Vātsyāyana similarly only once—p. 290—सक्तस्य चानुमरणं ब्रूयात्. Evidently Bhāsa suggests that the other wife remained a widow; in the other dramas, he has no occasion to speak about widows. But we will not be wrong if we guess that women had not been then denied the उपनयनसंस्कार and could recite mantras,<sup>14</sup> where only Sūdras are denied this privilege of reciting mantras. The सपत्नीकरण and अविधवाकरण flowers woven for the marriage of Padmāvatī suggest that Bhāsa knew about unhappy marriages as in the Jātaka tales, but refused to describe them. As regards the prostitutes, who were honoured in society at the time, Bhāsa, probably under the influence of the Dharmaśāstra, quietly suggests that they should slowly settle down as legally wedded wives. Hiḍimbā was not exactly a prostitute, but a Rākṣasī. Even she had to observe a religious fast and Cārudatta's wife fasted on the ṣaṣṭhi or 6th day. Hiḍimbā welcomed her husband after a long period of waiting. Vasantasenā's marriage with Cārudatta is suggested at the end of the drama. Such marriages had not as yet become कलिवर्ज्य. The young girls were married in good time. If it were by any means delayed, the mothers would be anxious as recorded in *Pratijñā* II. 7<sup>15</sup>

Some women also took the monastic vow and became सन्यासिनी (though this was later prohibited under the influence of the Dharmaśāstras); Padmāvatī's mother was living like a Tāpasī in the forest and anxiously inquired if anybody prayed for her hand.

As regards *fine arts*, sculpture flourished as much as painting in Vātsyāyana's days. Carving on wood or stone was one of the

14 This is clear by implication from *Pratimā* III 5—

वार्षलस्तु प्रणामः स्यादमन्त्रार्चितदैवतः—

15 अदत्तेत्यागता लज्जा दत्तेति व्यथितं मनः ।

धर्मस्नेहान्तरे 'यस्ता दुःखिताः खलु मातरः ॥



64 arts and every नागरक had in his house implements for working with them. Vātsyāyana does not mention the image of god, but it is clear that the rich had a household temple in their extensive apartments where इष्टदेवतोपहार was daily offered by them, p. 312. These were daily worshipped as for example by Rāma's mother in the Epic praying to Raṅganātha in the night prior to her son's coronation. The *Lalitavistara* speaks of numerous images of the gods that descended to worship the child Buddha when He made His appearance in the 'Devakula' where gods were worshipped inside the royal palace VII. 119. Bhāsa's *Pratijñā* speaks of an आश्रमगृह where of course the image is missing; in this secluded place the daily pūjā has been given up for some unknown reason and the trio carry on their secret deliberations 'far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife'. In the *Pratimā*. III act, life-like statues of dead kings are installed in a museum-like building. It is particularly interesting to note that the word *Pratimā* as the title of the drama has nothing to do with the later images of the gods in a temple. Similarly the word पञ्चरात्र' as the title of another drama has obviously nothing to do with the पञ्चरात्र philosophy which was perfected only in the Jayākhyā Saṃhitā of about 450 A. D. according to Dr. R. C. Hazra. The word पञ्चरात्र again reminds one of the दशरात्र sacrifice performed by Viśvāmitra in the *Rāmāyaṇa* with the help of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Turning back to the temples, we come across another dedicated to Kāmadeva where prostitutes like Vasantasenā danced during temple festivities. Perhaps the Devadāsī system of dedicating prostitutes to temple rituals had not as yet come into vogue.

### *Affinity with Smṛtikāras and Conclusion*

Similarly the evidence of the two words मध्यम and अनुबन्ध deserves to be considered in this connection. The word मध्यम now simply means a middle person, but the Amarakośa remembers a time when the word was used in the feminine gender as मध्यमा referring to a lady in the full plenitude of her sexual appeal:

स्यान्मध्यमा दृष्टरजाः । The commentator might make the word connote a young girl who has just then matured, but the evidence of Bhāsa for example who refers to Kaikeyī as such a lady, makes it clear that it refers to stronger and elderly ladies. Vālmiki also seems to know this sense when he makes the word सुमध्यमा refer only to Sītā, Kaikeyī, Tārā, but not at all to Kauśalyā and Sumitrā, who were long past the *menopause* stage and could only be physiologically fit to bear children because of the supernatural पायस. Bhāsa uses the word in the masculine gender also to refer to persons like Bhīma, Balarāma, Yaugandharāyaṇa, who were to use his pet phrase भुजायुधप्रधानाः,<sup>16</sup> who fought with bare hands. In fact most of Bhāsa's heroes or heroines were such stalwarts—madhyamas—in both the genders. The मध्यमव्यायोग brings together wonderfully three such मध्यमाः, घटोत्कच, भीमसेन and the मध्यमबाह्मणपुत्र. There is another interesting legal point about the मध्यम being offered the paternal property share only after his elder and younger brothers had received their shares. Gautama had decreed slightly earlier in about the 5th cen. B. C. that the मध्यम had to receive only one-eyed, one-horned, tailless cows or bulls (and similar legless or armless chairs or tables etc. in the father's property).<sup>17</sup> Kauṭilya in the previous century had only reiterated this legislation when he had declared काणलिङ्गा मध्यमांशः (p. 162. III 6. Mysore) and it was left to Bhāsa to focus popular protest against this injustice to the मध्यम. The lawgivers were naturally upset by this uproar and the next great lawgiver Yājñavalkya who followed about the beginning of the Christian era decreed that all the brothers do receive an equal share.

Now the next word अनुबन्ध. Here also Gautama while directing the judge to take due stock of the criminal's ability to commit the crime, the nature and extent of the loss caused thereby, his capacity to undergo punishment etc., in awarding the sen-

16 द्वावेव दोर्भ्यां समरे प्रयातौ हलायुधश्चैव वृकोदरश्च in पञ्चरात्र.

17 काणखोरकूटवण्टा मध्यमस्यानेकांशेत् P. 439 Govt. Oriental Library Edn, III. 14. Mysore—1907.

tence, uses the word as पुरुषशक्त्यपराधानुबन्धविज्ञानाद्दण्डनियोगः—गौतम X 114. Kauṭilya again instructs the punishing judge to ascertain the nature of the loss accruing from the crime and also how it was caused. Aśoka, about fifty years later in one of his rock edicts directs his judges to camp in different places and investigate on the spot the occasion for each crime and review the sentence looking into the offender's present circumstances etc. Manu also uses the same word अनुबन्ध in exactly the same sense but the word disappears mysteriously from the statute book in Yājñavalkya's time. Bhāsa seems to have come soon after Manu when the idea of अनुबन्ध was actually present in the legislator's statute book and Bhāsa by suggestion writes a long essay on this topic in the III act of his *Cārudatta*. The thief, there, tries to justify his theft by declaring that his motive for the crime was a just one, that he would have been happy if he found a rich black-marketeer who had amassed wealth by Shylockian ways where he could steal and yet compromise with his conscience. If Bhāsa, usually a suggestive writer, unnecessarily prolonged the theft scene with a big essay, the reason seems to be plain enough.

The ideals set up by the Dharmaśāstras control Bhāsa's society. Joint family life is extolled everywhere and सौभ्रातृ or good brotherliness is his message in almost every line of his dramas. Thieves are very rare and even if there be, they are actuated by noble motives. Peace and prosperity reign everywhere. Happy domestic affection of the husband and wife, father and son, brother and sister is everywhere the rule and not the exception in society; वर्णाश्रमधर्म is strictly observed. The blessings of the elders are received with due reverence. Temples in every village do not seem to have sprung up. Vedic sacrifices and more particularly रात्रयज्ञ constitute an important feature of the religious life of the people. These sacrifices have not as yet become obsolete. धर्माविरुद्ध काम culminating in स्थाविरे धर्मे मोक्षं च (as the कामसूत्र p. 11 puts it) is the ideal of life in his society which is definitely contemporaneous with the Jātakas, Lalitavistara, Vātsyāyana and other great authors.

*Living Language :*

After the time of the great Pāṇini, again, all subsequent growth of Sanskrit as a spoken language was completely arrested and gradually Sanskrit ceased to be spoken by the masses at large. But it still possessed vitality enough to carry on for some centuries after Pāṇini, perhaps upto Bhāsa and Kālidāsa. These early dramatists, particularly the former, use a language which seems quite natural, almost a spoken idiom. We feel when we read Bhāsa, that he must have had Sanskrit as his mother tongue, it flows so naturally and in such uninterrupted stream from his pen. He must have thought in Sanskrit unlike Bhavabhūti or Māgha. The language of these later writers is distinctly artificial and laboured and it is plain from their very words that they first evolved their ideas only in their mother tongue and then only translated them into Sanskrit. Perhaps one instance alone would suffice. The use of the conjunctions च and वा has a special significance in the following śloka from the Pañcarātra :

ये दुर्बलाश्च कृपणाश्च निराश्रयाश्च त्वत्तश्च शर्म मृगयन्ति न गर्वयन्ति

The चs add a plaintiveness to the appeal of Bhīṣma who pleads in the context with Duryodhana to share his patrimony with the Pāṇḍavas since they have become terribly weak and are shelterless. Kālidāsa also preserves, though to a lesser degree, this significance for this conjunction, when he makes Indra solicit Kāma's help in these words वज्रं तपोवीर्यमहत्सु कुण्ठं त्वं सर्वतो गमि च साधकं च in *Kumāra*. III, 12 As a matter of contrast, we might consider the lifeless use of this conjunction in Bhartṛhari's śloka.

यां चिन्तयामि सततं मयि सा विरक्ता

साप्यन्यमिच्छति जनं स जनोऽन्यसक्तः ।

अस्मत्कृते च परितप्यति काचिदन्या

धिकं च तं च मदनं च इमां च मां च ॥

The simplicity of the style, the brevity of the dialogues and the directness of the treatment,—all point to a period prior to the birth of Christ and this agrees favourably with our supposition that he might have flourished under Puṣyamitra Śuṅga and helped in the reorientation of Hindu Dharma, particularly after the Buddhist supremacy under the Mauryas.

### Was Bhāsa a Southerner?

We would like to answer this question in the affirmative. Dr. Pusalkar has urged that Bhāsa's knowledge of South India as exhibited in *Abhiṣeka* is defective and so he should have been a Northerner alone. But as against this I draw the attention of the scholars to the forms कल्यायनी and ऐरावण which Bhāsa uses in the II act of the *Bālacarita* and I act of the *Pratijñāyugandharāyaṇa*, respectively. The first word is always spelt without an *r* (कल्यायनी) in all places except in Malabar where this extra *r* is always added. The second form is also sometimes found in some other Dravidian languages as Kannada. Another South Indian feature—the second letter alliteration in each of the four lines of a śloka—again peculiar to Dravidian prosody—is found in at least one śloka, in the Nāndīśloka of Kaṇabhāra.<sup>18</sup>

In Tamil Prosody a special name एदुकै is given for this; in Kannada also it is a very common feature, for example of the songs sung by Purandaradāsa or Kanakadāsa. Such अनुप्रास for the 2nd letters it is very well known, is quite uncommon in Sanskrit. Over and above all these, there is another peculiar Dravidian idiom in the *Bālacarita* Iact. There is a peculiar verse therein and the context of the same can be described thus: Vasudeva takes the Divine Baby at dead of night to the Yamunā bank where by chance, Nanda has also repaired with his dead baby. When Vasudeva calls out to him in the stillness of the night, Nandagopa is terribly frightened; after a time only he feels reassured. Vasudeva reminds him that six of his children have been murdered by the wicked Kaiṁsa and this, the seventh, he prays to Nandagopa to protect. The latter at once retorts that his head would be chopped off if he dared do any such indiscreet action. Vasudeva then discreetly reminds him of some

<sup>18</sup> The verse is this:

नरमृगपतिवर्णालोकनभ्रान्तनारी  
 सुरदनुजसुपर्वव्रातपाताललोकः  
 करजकुलिशपालीभिन्नदैत्येन्द्रवच्चाः  
 सुररिपुबलहन्ता श्रीधरोऽस्तु श्रिये वः ॥

service he had rendered to him as Kāṁsa's prime minister, though the last was a disservice inasmuch as, due to this last complaint, Nanda was condemned to constant chains even in his own principality in the cowherd's village. Touched by feelings of gratefulness, Nanda, when he hears Vasudeva say :

यद्यास्मि भवतः किञ्चिन्मया पूर्वकृतं भवेत् ।

तस्य प्रत्युपकारस्य कालस्ते समुपागतः ॥

I. 20. p. 520

Devadhar at once blurts out—किं किं प्रत्युपकार इति । कंसो वा भवतु, तस्य पिता उग्रसेनो वा भवतु, आनयतु भर्ता दारकम्। The sentence means: What? You speak of return benefit for some good already done, is it? Let it be Kāṁsa himself or even his own father. Bring the child, I will take it'. This last idiom is very familiar among us in all our Dravidian languages, particularly in our quarrels. We daresay that no other Sanskrit poet like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha or Śrī Harṣa has used such an idiom.

These considerations are sufficiently weighty and make us infer he must have been familiar with Dravidian idioms. Perhaps he might have been by birth a southerner, who went to the Śuṅga king Puṣyamitra for patronage and was honoured by him as his poet laureate.

U. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO

## Lexicographical Notes \*

The Dharmasūtras contain a good number of peculiar words. Some of these words are found neither in the standard Sanskrit lexicons nor in the modern Dictionaries. There are some words which, though found in other branches of Sanskrit literature, are used in senses peculiar to these works alone. It is, therefore, worth our while to collect these words at one place. In doing so, we shall note the meanings suggested by the commentators.

Aṇṣupaṭṭa: Vi. XXIII. 21: *aṇṣupaṭṭaḥ valkala-tantu-nirmitaḥ*—Vai.

“Clothes made of the barks of trees”. Jolly in SBE, VII., p. 100, para 21.

Akara: G. X. II; A. II. 26. 10: *akarāḥ pravrajitāḥ abrahmaṇāḥ*—MB. *karaṇa na dāpyaḥ*—U.

One who is exempted from taxes.

(From MB. the word seems to have denoted the non-brahmins who took to mendicancy. By this term A. means *śrotriya*, i.e. a Brāhmaṇa versed in the Vedas).

Akalyā: G. IX. 29: *asvastha-śarīrā, analaṃkṛta-śarīrā vā*—MB  
Indisposed or unadorned.

Agni-tuṇḍa: Vi. XL. iii. 34: *Agnistuṇḍe yeṣāṃ te bhallū-kādayaḥ*—Vai.

\*The following abbreviations have been used in this paper.

A—*Āpastamba-dharmasūtra*, Kāśhī Sanskrit Series.

B—*Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra*, Do.

G—*Gautama-dharmasūtra*, Mysore Govt. edition.

MB—*Maskari-bhāṣya*, comm. on. G. above

Mit—*Mitākṣarā*, Haradatta's comm. on *Gautama-dharmasūtra*,  
Ānandāśrama ed.

MW—Monier Williams (*Sanskrit-English Dictionary*).

SBE—Sacred Books of the East Series.

U—*Ujvalā*, Haradatta's comm. on A. above.

V—*Vāsisṭha-smṛti*, ed. Fuhrer.

Vai—*Vaijayanṭi*, Nandapaṇḍita's comm. on the *Viṣṇu-smṛti*.

Vi—*Viṣṇu-smṛti*, ed. Jolly.

Vna—*Vivaraṇa*, Govindasvāmin's comm. on B. above.

Bears and other animals having fire in their mouths.

Acchambaṭkāra: A I. 12. 3: *avyarthatva*—U.

The quality of being infallible.

Aṇika: A I. 19. 1: *putrāt śrutagrāhī, putrācārya iti śāstreṣu ninditaḥ...apara āba—añikaḥ ṛṇasya dātā*—U.

Creditor, according to some, and, according to others, one who learns the Veda from one's son.

Anamutra: A II. 21. 10: *paralokārthā japahomādayo yasya na santi*—U.

One who does not perform the rites necessary for attaining heaven.

Aniha: A. II. 21. 10: *ihārthāḥ kṛṣyādayo yasya na santi*—U.

One who does not take to agriculture etc. for maintaining oneself in this world.

Anūcāna: B. I. 3. 37; I. 21. 15; II. 2. 18; II. 14. 6; A. II. 17. 22.

This word is not uncommon. But it has been used in the following senses in the Dharmasūtras:—

(1) One who has studied the Veda with its meaning and accessories (Govindasvāmin on B. I. 21. 15).

(2) One who has studied one branch of the Veda with all its accessories (Ibid. on B. I. 3. 37).

(3) One who has studied the three Vedas (Haradatta on A. II. 17. 22).

Apapātra: B. I. 21. 17; II. 2. 5; A. I. 3. 25; I. 16. 30; I. 21. 16, 17; II. 17. 20.

(1) *Kanyā* (Vna., under B. II. 2. 5, reads *apapātrā*).

(2) One born of the union of a man of the lower caste and a woman of the higher caste. One whose cooking vessels are excluded from those of the four castes. (U. under A. I. 3. 25).

(3) Acc. to Haradatta, under A. I. 16. 30, *apapātras* are

- (i) *patita* (degraded), (ii) *sūtikā* (a woman delivered of a child), (iii) *Caṇḍāla*, (iv) *Udakyā* (a woman in her monthly course).



(4) *pratiloma-striyaḥ*, i. e. women in the reverse order of castes. (U. under A. I. 21. 17).

Apartu: G. III. 21 A. I. 11. 27, 31: *ṛtu-śabdena varṣā evocyante/ apagate ṛtau*—MB; *yatra varṣartau dhruvāśīlatoktā*—Mit.

At the cessation of the rainy season.

Apidhānī: A. II. 4. 3: *Kavāṭam/argalamiti anye*—U.

Door-leaf or, acc. to some, the bar of the door.

Amatra: B. I. 8. 25; A. I. 3. 25, 36; II. 4. 24: *mṛṇmaya-pātram*—Vna. *bhojana-pātram*; *Yeṣu pākāḥ kṛtāḥ tāni amatrāṇi*—U.

An earthen vessel, a dish, a cooking pot.

Alābu: B. I. 14. 10: *Srucāṇi bhājanam*—Vna. A vessel for keeping *sruks* or ladles for pouring ghee on sacrificial fire. (Perhaps made of a bottle-gourd).

Ārā: B. II. 4. 21: *Salohako daṇḍaḥ*—Vna. A stick having iron in it (Iron-tipped). 'Goad'—Bühler.

Āśyānna: A. I. 19. 2: One whose food may be eaten. (Bühler in SBE, II. p. 69, para 2).

Indra-kīla: B. II. 6. 13: *pura-dvāre sthāpitāḥ kāṣṭha-viśeṣaḥ*—Vna.

A kind of wood placed at the city-gate.

Ucchādana: B. I. 3. 36: *Chatra-dhāraṇam*—Vna.

Holding the umbrella.

Ulbaṇa: G. IX. 4: *uddhatārgham*—MB; *babu-mūlyam*—Mit.

Very costly.

Kartapatya: A. I. 5. 3; B. I. 19. 18: *Karta-śabdena Svabhrābhīdhāyinā narakalokṣyate/patatyāneneti patyam/...naraka—pāta—hetuḥ*—U. *Kartam narakam tasmin nipātaḥ*—Vna.

Fall into hell.

Kālakavana: V. I. 8; B. I. 2. 10: (1) Name of a mountain—M. W. (2) Black forest—Bühler.

Kimpāku G. XVII. 30 or Kyāku: A. I. 17. 28. V. XIV. 33: *Abicchatram Chatrākam*—MB; *Chatrākāḥ*—U. Mit.

Mushroom—(In Bengal, called byāner chātā.)

Kilāsī: G. XV. 17: *Kuṣṭhī bhūmi-bartā vā*—MB.; *Kilāsas tvagdoṣaḥ balalīti draviḍānāṃ prasiddhaḥ*—Mit.

(1) Leper—MB. (2) Stealer of land—MB. (3) One afflicted with *Kilāsa* or a skin-disease known as *balalī* among the Dravidians.

Kucara: G. XV, 15: *Kutsitācāraḥ*—MB., Mit.

One having ugly habits.

(Cf. Ṛgveda I. 154. 2 where this word is interpreted by Sāyaṇa as *Kutsita himsādi-kartā, durgama-pradeśa-gantā vā*).

Kuñjara: B. I. 3. 55: Plank—Bühler.

Kuthahāri: B. III. 1. 8: *Vāsava-śāsana-dātram*—Vna.

Sickle—Bühler.

Kuluṅga: B. I. 12. 6: Black antelope—(Bühler).

Kuśāvarta: Vi. LXXXV. II: *tryambaka—giriṣṭho godāvarī-prabhavaḥ*—Vai. A place on the mountain called Tryambaka where the Godāvarī river takes its rise.

(Jolly identifies it with modern Trimbak, 'a place of pilgrimage situated near Nasik'—SBE, VII, p. 257, para 11)

Kuśilava: Vi. XXXVII. 32; V. III. 3 'Reprehensible art' (such as dancing)—Jolly.

Kṛśāsa: B.I.10.32; *Kṛśān durbalān aśaktān asyati kṣipati bādhate iti*—Vna.

One who hurts the weak.

Kaupīna: G. III. 18; B. II. 11. 21: *gubhya-pradeśasya nāma*—Mit. *nagnatā*—MB; *Kutsitamācchādanam...iti vaiyākaraṇāḥ* (1) Private part, (2) Nakedness, (3) Ugly cover.

Kubjāmra: Vi. LXXXV. 15; *Utkala-deśasthaṃ kṣetram gaṅgā-dvārasthaṃ vā*—Vai. A field in Orissa or in Gaṅgādvāra (also called Haridvāra)

Kumbhīdhānya: B. I. 15: *daśāhaṃ jīvanaupāyika-dhānya*—Vna.

Paddy sufficient for ten days' subsistence.

(For different meanings, suggested by others, see Bühler in SBE, XIV., p. 143, fn. 5, 13; p. 2, fn. 3).

Kulaṃkula: G. IX. 53; V. XII. 8: From the interpretations, suggested by the different commentators, we may gather the following senses of the word:—

- (i) One who goes from one house to another without any business. (ii) A stay-at-home fellow. (iii) One who goes from one family to another, as in adoption.

Klomā: Vi. XCVI. 91: *māṃsa-piṇḍaḥ*—Vai.

Lump of flesh.

Khadga: A. I. 17. 37: *mṛga-viśeṣaḥ, yasya śṛṅgaṃ tailabhājanam*—U.

A kind of deer (or, animal?) whose horn is used as a container of oil.

Khora: G. XXVIII. 6: *Vṛddhaḥ*—MB., Mit.

Old man.

Gatta: G. XVI. 7; B. II. 6. 28; V. XXI. 8: *garta-śabdo ratha-śabdah, avyakto vā dhvaniḥ*—MB. *garto rathaḥ*—Mit. *adbomukha eva mimno bhūbbhāgaḥ garto bhavati*—Vna.

From the remarks of the commentators, the following senses of the word emerge:—(i) Chariot, (ii) Inarticulate sound, (iii) Hole.

Gavaya: A. I. 17. 29; V. XIV. 41, 43; Vi. 80-9.

- (i) Cow-like beast—U., (ii) Beast—Vi., (iii) A kind of fish—V.

Calattundi: B. I. 10. 32: *Calataḥ prāṇinaḥ yastudati binasti, prāṇighātaka iti... yad vā... caladudarah, udarapūraṇa-parāyaṇaḥ*—Vna.

- (i) One who hurts moving creatures, (ii) A glutton.

Jīla: G. XXII. 28; *ḍṛtiḥ*—MB.

Leather bag.

Ḍiḍḍika: B. I. 19. 8; *Cucundarī*.

Musk rat.

Tūla: A. I. 32. 24 *āgāminī sampat*.

Future prosperity.

Divākīrtiya: G. XVI. 19; V. XIII. 11

- (i) Barber (MB.), (ii) Caṇḍāla (Mit.)

(The word, preceded by 'mahā' means a text of the Sāma-Veda. Vide B. III. 10. 11)

Nicudāru: G. XVII. 32; *dārvāgbhāṭaḥ*—MB.

Woodpecker (Bengali—Kāṭṭhokrā)

Nirākṛti: A. I. 18. 33; *niḥsvādhyāyaḥ nirurata ityanye*—U.  
One who has not studied one's own Veda or does not perform *vrata*.

Palpulanam: B. II. 8. 8; *malāpanayanāya pāṇibhyāmava-sphotanam*.—Vna.

“Washing clothes by beating them”—Bühler.

Paśūpaja: G. XII. 33; *ghṛtādi*—MB. *paśorupajātam*, *ghṛtakṣīrādi*—Mit.

Ghee, condensed milk etc. obtained from animals.

Pārśvika: Vi. Lviii. 11; *pārśve sthitvā cāmara-Cālanam*—Vai.

Moving of a chowrie by the side of one. ‘Servile attendance’—Jolly.

Pūtikhāṣa: B. I. 17. 37: *Śasākṛtiḥ himavati prasiddhaḥ*—U.

A hare-like animal well-known on the Himalayas.

Prānūna: B. I. 2. 15: Name of a region in ancient India. (MW. explains it as ‘name of a people.’ This does not appear to be accurate in view of the fact that all the words preceding and following it are place-names).

Brahma-sadana: B. II. 4.4: *brahma-sadanākhyo deśaḥ vāstu-vidyā prasiddho madhye*’ *gārasya*—U.

A spot inside the house well-known in the science of house-building.

Bhagāla: G. IX. 22: *Kapālam bhinna-bhāṇḍāvayavam Kapālamiti brūyāt*—MB. *Kapālam brūvan bhagālamiti brūyāt*—Mit.

Bhṛjyakaṇṭha: G. IV. 20: *Vaiśyāyām brāhmaṇājātaḥ*—MB.

One born of the union of a Brāhmaṇa and a Vaiśyā.

Bhrātṛvya: B. I. 31. 17: *Sapatna*.

Enemy. (C.f. Pāṇini, IV. 1. 145).

Bhrūṇa: G. XVII. 11, B. IV. 1. 22; A. I. 29. 1; V. XVII. 71; XXIII. 38.

A Brāhmaṇa who has studied the Veda with its accessories (U).

Mahā-nadī: B. I. 14. 8: *Yāḥ svanāmnaiva samudram gacchanti tā mahānadyaḥ*—Vna.

A river that flows into the sea bearing its own name throughout.

Mūla: A. I. 32. 24: *pitṛ-dhanam*—U.

Paternal money.

Mleccha: G. IX. 17; V. VI. 41: *mlecchāḥ pārasikādayaḥ*—MB. *varṇāśrama-dharma-rahite deśe siṃhala-duīpādaḥ ye vasanti*—Mit.

(i) Persians, etc., (ii) Those who live in Ceylon and such other places as are devoid of the caste-system and the four stages of life.

Yuvamārin: A. II. 16. 19; *Yuvamāriṇaḥ yuvāna eva mṛyante*—U.

One who dies young.

Rāmaka: V. XVIII. 4: One born of the union of a Vaiśya and a Brāhmaṇi.

Repas: B. III. 7. 5; *repa iti pāpa-nāma*—Vna.

Sin.

Rephāyati: A. II. 14. 13; *Rephā śobhā/īha tu tadvatyabhedopacāraḥ/tataḥ kyaḥ*/Denominative of *repha* meaning beauty.

Vaḍavā: Vi. LXXXV. 37: *tīrtha-viśeṣo dakṣiṇa-deśasthaḥ*—Vai.

A place of pilgrimage in the Deccan.

Vāraṇa: B. I. 12. 7; A kind of bird.

Varmī: B. I. 12. 8; A kind of fish.

Vaśā: G. VII. 14; B. II. 4. 10; A. I. 20. 12. A barren woman or cow.

Vāsi: A. II. 22. 15; *darvyādi*—U.

A cooking appliance known in Bengal as *bātā*.

Vāhuka: B. II. 6. 26 *Vāhubhyāṃ taratīti*.

One who swims across (a river etc.)

Vidala: G. I. 35; V. III. 53; *mayūra-pakṣādi-niṣpannaḥ*—MB. *Vetra-veṇu-vidalādi nirmitam, piccha-nirmitamityanye*—Mit.

(1) Made of feathers of peacock, etc. (2) Made of cane, bamboo, etc.

Vināla: B. I. 14. 10; *Veṇu-vidalamayādikaṃ dīrgha-bhājanam*—Vna.

A long vessel made of bamboo or cane.

Viṣṭapa: A. I. 23. 8; V. XVII. 5; *Viṣṭape viḡata-santāpa lakṣmaṇe brahmaṇi*.

(1) Brahman who is free from pain. (2) Heaven (Bühler).

Viṣvañcaḥ: G. XI. 32; *Ye.....na svayaṃ karma kurvanti rājñā ca na sthāpyante te viṣvañcaḥ*—MB. *Ye varṇāśramāḥ svāni karmāṇi yathāvuṇṇānutiṣṭhanti te...viṣvañcaḥ*—Mit.

(1) Those who neither do their duties of their own accord nor are made to do so by the king. (2) Those followers of the caste-system and the four stages of life who do not duly perform their own duties.

Vṛkala: B. I. 13. 12: *Vṛkalāśśakakāḥ*—Vna.

Vṛhati: A. I. 32. 24: *Utpātayati*—U.

Uproots. Cf. Vedic  $\sqrt{\text{vṛh}}$  (to tear).

Veṇa: Vi. Li. 14: *Venu-ccheda-jīvī pratiḡomajāḥ*—Vai.

A man, born of the union of different castes in the reverse order, subsisting by cutting bamboo, cane, etc.

Vaira: A. I. 24. 1; V. VI. 24; *Pāpam*—Vna. Sin.

Śaṅkha-puṣpī: V. XXVII. II; B. II. 1. 21: *Samudra-tīre latā-viśeṣaḥ*—Vna.

A kind of creeper on the sea-shore.

Śaṃyoṣa: A. I. 28. 3: *Śaṃyoṣā kośidhānyāni mudga-māṣa-canaḡkāḡdini*—U.

“Seeds ripening in the pod”—Bühler.

Sandhinī: A. I. 17. 23; G. XVII. 23; V. XIV. 34; Vi. Li. 40: *Yā garbhiniṇi dugdhe*—U, Mit. *ekāṃ velāṃ antarīkṛtya duhyate vatsāntareṇa vā*—MB.

Animal that (1) gives milk while big with young, (2) is milched after one *velā* (time of milching?), (3) is milched by the calf of other animals.

Sarvānnī: A. I. 18. 33: *Yah sarveṣāmannam bhunkte*.

One who eats rice from all.

Sairī: A. I. 2. 37: *Vāha-yoktra-rajjuḥ*—U.

The rope of the yoke of a draught animal.

Syandinī: G. XVII. 23: *nitānta-granthi-stani*—MB. *yasyāḡ stanebhyah kṣīram syandate*—Mit.

(1) An animal whose udders are tight. (2) Animal from whose udders milk flows spontaneously (Bühler).

Srehu: G. I. 50: *retah*—MB.

Semen.

Himavān: B. III. 3. 19: *śīta-saḥṣṇuḥ* (Vna).

Capable of enduring cold.

SURES CHANDRA BANERJI

## Ancient Indian Geography in Bāṇabhaṭṭa

Apart from their high literary excellences, the works of Bāṇabhaṭṭa are of no mean importance as valuable sources of ancient Indian Geography and of contemporary Social history. The picture of ancient India that the two important works of Bāṇa unravels cannot precisely be taken to be a faithful picture of the contemporary society inasmuch as facts strewn over a long period of history are summed up in the casual references of Bāṇa, but these nevertheless furnish us with graphic views relating to Indian Geography during some centuries prior to the advent of Harṣa, and of the age to which the poet belonged. In the 2nd Uccḥāsa of the हर्षचरित Bāṇa refers to some villages situated close to the rivers भागिरथी and अजिरावती. These were प्रीतिकूट, मल्लकूट, ब्राह्मणाधिवास, यष्टिप्राहक etc.<sup>1</sup>

The city of Maṇitāra was situated on the river अजिरावती<sup>2</sup>.

Bāṇa's ancestral home was situated in प्रीतिकूट in a country watered by the river Soṇa.<sup>3</sup> The Soṇa was also known to the classical writers as 'हिरण्यवाह'.

The river A j i r ā v a t ī also known as 'अचिरावती' may be identified with the modern Rāpū in Oudh. Pāṇini refers to it. (in 6.3.119). The वराहपुराण refers to the अजिरावती (ch. 214). अचिरावती was a tributary of the river सरयू.

The metropolis S t h ā ṇ v ī ś v a r a was situated within the territory known as श्रीकण्ठ renowned for its abundance in horses and camels. श्रीकण्ठ refers to the region comprising of the Carnal, Ambala, Simla and Patiala districts probably.

1 प्रथमचलितदक्षिणचरणः प्रीतिकूटान्निर्गता । ...शनैश्चण्डिकाकाननम-  
तिक्रम्य मल्लकूटनामानं ग्राममगात् । ...पुनरपि तं ब्राह्मणाधिवासमगात्—ch 3.  
and अपरेद्युर्त्तोर्य भगवतीं भागिरथीं यष्टिप्राहकनान्नि वनग्रामके निशामनयत् ।

2 स्कन्धावारमुपमणितारमन्वजिरवति कृतसंनिवेशमाससाद—2nd ch.

3 सन्ध्यामुपासितुं शोणमयासीत् ।



स्थाण्वीश्वर referred to as “Sa-ta-ni-shi-fa-lo” by Hiuen tsang<sup>4</sup> was situated within this territory.<sup>5</sup> The *Gauḍavaho* refers to the subjugation of Śrī Kaṇṭha by Yaśodharman of Kanauj about half a century later.<sup>6</sup> Yaśodharman marched through the मरुदेश (Rājputāna), Kurukṣetra and reached स्थाण्वीश्वर. The location of स्थाण्वीश्वर and ओकण्ट in the vicinity of the Ambala and Patiala districts is thus testified by the account of गौड़वहो.

Bāṇa refers to the horses of Vanāyu, Āraṭṭa, Kāmboja, Bharadvāja, Sindhu and Persia as well-bred ones.<sup>7</sup> वनायु is generally taken to be referring to Arabia.

The first reference to V a n ā y u occurs in Pāṇini (in the Nadādi group in IV. 1.99), where वनायु is taken to correspond to the people of the wide open Wānā valley to the north of the Gomāl river<sup>8</sup>. The *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to Vanāyu.<sup>9</sup> The अश्वशास्त्र eulogises वनायु for its well-bred horses.<sup>10</sup> But the Behistun inscription does not mention वनायु as the old name of Arabia rather it refers to the country as Arbiya. Ragozin’s “Assyria” mentions ‘Vān’ as the old name of Armenia celebrated for its horses. Griffith holds that the identification of Vanāyu with Arabia is conjectural<sup>11</sup>. ब्राह्मिहिर (6th century A.D.) refers to आरब.<sup>12</sup> The *Padma Purāṇa*<sup>13</sup> contains reference to the people of the Vanāyu country and classes them among the tribes of the N.W.F.P. Since Vanāyu cannot be fully identified with Arabia we are inclined to assume that, that part of Afghanistan was probably known to Bāṇa as the Vanāyu country.

4 Account of Hiuen tsang by S. Beal.

5 ओकण्टो नाम जनपदः...स्थाण्वीश्वराह्वयो जनपदविशेषः ।

6 *Introduction of Gauḍavaho* ed. by S. P. Pandit.

7 अथ वनायुजैरारट्टजैः काम्बोजैर्भारद्वाजैः सिन्धुदेशजैः पारसोक्तैश्च etc.

8 *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 438.

9 In the आदिपर्व (ch. VI).

10 (BK II. अश्वध्याय).

11 *Rāmāyaṇa* vol. I, p. 42.

12 बृहत् संहिता. XIV. 17.

13 स्वर्गपर्व and आदिपर्व, (ch. III).

The Punjab has been mentioned as *Āraṭṭa*. The *अर्थशास्त्र* refers to *आरट्ट*.<sup>14</sup> The *महाभारत* refers to its geographical position.<sup>15</sup> That the whole of the Punjab was known as *Āraṭṭa* for some centuries prior to *Bāṇa* can be attested from this reference, but *Hiuen tsang* refers to it as 'Chch-ka' probably meaning *Ṭakka*. The *अभिधानचिन्तामणि* of *हेमचन्द्र* names the *वाहीकदेश* by the word *Ṭakka* ( *वाहीकाष्टकनामानः* 4. 22-27).<sup>16</sup> *Vinayacandra* also refers to *Ṭakka* in his *काव्यशिक्षा*. *Ṭakka* and *वाहीक* both refer to the Punjab which was otherwise known as *आरट्ट* in early times. Though *Bāṇa* refers to *आरट्ट* it was a comparatively older name, and as vouched for by *Hiuen tsang*. The Punjab was probably known at that time by the name *Ṭakka*. *Justin* refers to *Āraṭṭa* as *Arestac*.<sup>17</sup>

*Kāmbōja* has been referred to in almost all ancient texts. The *Vaiśa Brāhmaṇa* refers to *काम्बोज उपमन्यव* (a pupil of *मद्रागार*). The *Nirukta* refers to *Kāmbōja*.<sup>18</sup> *Śaṅkara* the oldest commentator of the *हर्षचरित* explains *काम्बोज* as 'काम्बोजाः वाह्लोकदेशजाः'. *Pāṇini*<sup>19</sup> refers to *काम्बोज* as a great जनपद. The site of the *काम्बोजदेश* from the hoary past ages down to the time of *Bāṇa* remained almost unchanged. The territory watered by the headwater of the *Oxus* and comprising the *Ghalcha* speaking areas of *Pāmīr* was known from the age of *Pāṇini* as *Kāmbōja*.<sup>20</sup> Old Persian inscriptions mention *काम्बोज* as *कम्बुजिय* (*Kambujiya*). *Kāmbōja*, broadly speaking, lay to the south of *Ferghana* and may be identified with the region of *Badakshan Pamir*.

14 In *काम्बोजक्रमैन्धवारट्टजवानायुजाः* (Bk. II. अश्वाध्यक्ष).

15 पञ्चनद्यो वहन्त्येता यत्र पीलवनान्युत । शतद्रुश्च विपाशा च तृतीयैरावती तथा । चन्द्रभागा वितस्ता च सिन्धुषष्ठा बहिर्गिरेः । आरट्टा नाम ते देशाः । ( *द्रोणपर्व* ch. 40-45 and *कर्णपर्व* ch. 44.)

16 The *कर्णपर्व* (ch. 44 says)—“पञ्चानां सिन्धुषष्ठानां नदीनां येऽन्तराश्रिताः । तान् धर्मबाह्यानशुचीन् वाहीकानपि वर्जयेत् ।”

17 *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India*, p. 215.

18 *शवतिर्गतिकर्मा काम्बोजेष्वेव भाष्यते* (2. II.)

19 In IV. 1.175.

20 *Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. X. p. 468-500.

Āśoka's R.E.V mentions the कम्बोज (योगकंबोजगन्धाराणम्). Watters (on Yuan Chwang I) tries to locate it in Rājapura. V. Smith has placed the Kāmboja among the mountains of the Hindukus. Bāṇa probably referred to the territory lying to the south of Ferghana by Kāmboja (excluding राजपुर), because the Rājapura has been mentioned separately by Hiuen tsang as 'Ho-lo-she-pu-lo'. The contemporary treatises on Tantra also limit it as—"पञ्चनदं समारभ्य म्लेच्छाद्विगुर्वृतः। कम्बोजदेशो देवेशि वाजिराशिपरायणः"<sup>21</sup> In the exploits of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa the subduing of Kāmboja has been referred to, and there Kāmboja is said to be comprising of the hilly regions of N. W. India.

Import of horses from the B h a r a d v ā j a country has been mentioned by Bāṇa. Pāṇini refers (in IV.2. 145) to the Bhāradvājas (कृष्णपर्णाद् भारद्वाजे), and the Kāśikā clearly states that Bhāradvāja there refers to a country. According to Pargiter the Bhāradvājas are often mentioned as the residents of the upper Ganges valley near the Himālayas in the महाभारत. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*<sup>22</sup> mentions the Bhāradvājas as the residents of Garhwal. Pāṇini mentions the Bhāradvājas in conjunction with the Ātreyas.<sup>23</sup> Nothing can be known about the geographical site of the Bhāradvāja country from the extant references of Bāṇa.

Both S i n d h u and S a u v ī r a are mentioned in the हर्षचरित. Sindhu occupied the lower Indus valley and has been named 'Sin-tu' by Hiuen tsang. Sauvīra<sup>24</sup> has been known from the early Christian ages<sup>25</sup> and has been mentioned by many foreign travellers. The Bible refers to सौवीर as the Sophir or Ophir and the *Milinda Pañha*<sup>26</sup> mentions Sovira as a seaport. The महाभारत calls it सिन्धुसौवीर (भीष्मपर्व ch 9; रामायण आदिपर्व ch 13.) Dr. Rhys Davids places सौवीर to the north of Kathiawar and

21 Quoted in Gajendragadkar's *Harṣacarita*.

22 p. 320.

23 Cf. आत्रेयभारद्वाजे in IV. 1.110 in the अश्ववादि गुणपाठ।

24 Cf. रमदिग्धमध्येन च मेखलामणिना सौवीरंवीरसेनम्।

25 Vide *Classical Age*, p. 164-165.

26 S.B.E. vol. xxxvi.

along the gulf of Cutch<sup>27</sup> Alberuni identifies सौवीर with Multan and Jahrawar.<sup>28</sup> The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*<sup>29</sup> places both सिन्धु and सौवीर to the northern part of India along with Gāndhāra, Mādra etc. The account of Hiuen tsang reveals that सिन्धु occupied the lower Indus valley and the सौवीर occupied the upper Indus valley respectively.

P e r s i a has been referred to not only in the *Kādambarī* and the *Harṣacarita*<sup>30</sup> but in other classical works antedating Bāṇa<sup>31</sup> The अमरकोश refers to Persia for the superior quality of its horses. Acquaintance with Persia dates back to as early as the 6th century B.C. when Cyrus the ruler of Persia led an expedition against India. Darius also invaded the independent kingdoms of India.<sup>32</sup> In the *R̥gveda* the Persians are mentioned as the 'Parśus' and in the Behistun Inscr. as 'Parsan' (*JRAS.*, vol. XV. pp. 101-103). The *Viṣṇu P.* (II. ch. 3) refers to Persia.<sup>33</sup> The territorial integrity of Persia thus remained unchanged in the days of Bāṇa.

Settlements of the Ś a k a s in the N.W. border of India are mentioned in the हर्षचरित ( शशपद-शकस्थानम् । ) To both Patañjali and Kātyāyana Śakas were known races. The महाभारत speaks of the settlements of the Śakas as श क द्वी प (VI.II.).

27 *Buddhist India*, p. 320 and भागवत् (v. ch 10.)

28 *Alberuni's India*, vol. 1, pp. 300-302.

29 Ch. 57.

30 पारसीकाधिपतिना प्रहितः and प्रादेशः पारसीकविषयः

31 Cf. पारसीकांस्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्त्मना—Raghu IV.

32 McCrindle's *Ancient India*,—the account of Strabo.

33 It is curious to note that trade in horses from Persia began as early as the time of Pāṇini and continued for some centuries preceding the incursion of the Muslims and the Turks. Even the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara imported horses from Persia in about 1500 A.D. (vide Sewell's 'A Forgotten Empire'). The account of Tabari (838-923 A.D.) reveals that embassies were exchanged between Pulakeśin II of Mahārāṣṭra and Khusru (590-628 A.D.) the ruler of Persia. Another king named Deva Sarman sent ambassadors to the Court of Persia long before Harṣa. (Cf. Account of Firdausi in Shāhnāmā).

That the people of India were fairly acquainted with Turkey may be gathered from the हर्षचरित 1<sup>34</sup> The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* refers to it as Eastern Turkestan (Pt. I. ch. 55). The काव्यमीमांसा seems to have full acquaintance with all the countries referred to by Bāṇa.<sup>35</sup>

Bāṇa speaks of the superior quality and the high stature of the horses of the तुङ्गण country.<sup>36</sup> Śaṅkara explains the two passages as तङ्गणो देशस्तद्देशयोऽन्यश्च तङ्गणः । References to तङ्गण or तुङ्गण occur in the काव्यमीमांसा<sup>37</sup> in the बृहत्संहिता<sup>38</sup> and in the ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (ch. 49). The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण limits the तङ्गण country as stretching from the Rāṅgāṅgā river to the upper सरयू. The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient India tries to identify it with Hāṭaka or the Lāḍak Province. The वायुपुराण places it among the countries lying to the north.<sup>39</sup>

From the account of the काव्यमीमांसा it is clear that तुङ्गण was a country adjoining the किरात, कुलूत etc. in the mountainous terrains of the North.

The names of Gauḍa and Puṇḍra are referred to in the Kādambarī.<sup>40</sup> Puṇḍranagar has been cited in the Kāśikā under Pāṇini

34 'उत्तमाहिनः किष्कुस्तुरस्कविपयाः ।

35 पृथुदकात् परत उत्तरापथः । यत्र शककेकयवोक्ताणहूणवाणायुजकाम्बोजवाहूलोकवहूलवर्त्म्याककुलूतकीरतङ्गणतुषारतुरष्कवर्वर...प्रभृतयो जनपदाः—ch. 17 Hemacandra also says—तुरस्कास्तु साखयः स्युः ।

The *Classical Age*, p. 628 speaks of an expedition against Turkey led by an Indian king without however any authentic source. Hiuen-tsang (about 624 A.D.) also records his acquaintance with the Turkish people and the Turkish territory (vide *Life of Hiuen-tsang* by S. Beal pp. 35-84)

36 तुङ्गतुङ्गणगुणं...and सुखायमानखकूखटस्तूयमानतुङ्गतुङ्गणगुणे.

37 *Ibid.*

38 अभिसारदरदतङ्गणकुलूतसैरिन्द्र वनराष्ट्राः—ch. XIV.

39 “आपगाश्चालिमर्दाश्च किरातानां च जातयः । तोमराहंसमार्गाश्च काश्मीरास्तङ्गणास्तथा । एते देशा ह्युदीच्याश्च- ( अं. ४५ )” and “अती देशान् प्रवक्ष्यामि पर्वताश्रयिनश्च ये । निगर्हृरा हंसमार्गोक्षुपणास्तङ्गणाः खसाः (ch. 46)”.

40 भवानपि कटकमादाय प्रवर्ततां गौडामिमुखम्,...दुष्टगौडभुजङ्गमदग्धजीविते, पौण्ड्रे वाससी वसानः (कादम्बरी) and पुण्ड्रे क्षुवाटसन्ततिभिर्निरन्तरः शिखण्ड्यपाङ्गपाण्डुनी पौण्ड्रे वाससी etc.).

6.2.89. The बृहत्संहिता says “पुण्ड्रागोलाङ्गुलश्रीपर्वतवर्धमानाश्च (Ch. XVI). In the ऐ. ब्रा. (VII. 18) the Puṇḍras are mentioned. According to Mr. Fergusson the regions of Dinājpur, Raṅgpur, and Bogra formed the ancient Puṇḍravardhana. Puṇḍra and Puṇḍravardana are the same. Puṇḍra was bordered on the east by the river Karatoyā, on the west by the river Kauśikī, on the north by the Hemakūṭa mountain of the Himālayān range, and on the south by the tributaries of the Ganges. Puṇḍradeśa and Puṇḍra were the names of the same country and some scholars suggest that Puṇḍravardhana was perhaps its capital. The महाभारत<sup>41</sup> however considers Puṇḍra and Paṇḍra as two different countries. According to an allusion referred to by Bāṇa,—देवसेन the ruler of सुह्र was killed by देवकी.<sup>42</sup> Suhma has been identified with Rāḍa i.e. modern Burdwan district in Bengal, by नीलकण्ठ the commentator of the महाभारत. Pāṇḍu conquered it<sup>43</sup> The बृहत् संहिता places सुह्र between वङ्ग and कलिङ्ग but the मत्स्यपुराण mentions it as an independent country.<sup>44</sup> According to the दशकुमारचरित<sup>45</sup> Tamluk was probably included within Suhma but the महाभारत<sup>46</sup> mentions सुह्र and ताम्रलिप्त as two different countries. The Telapatta Jātaka<sup>47</sup> mentions सुह्र as a country nearing the Punjab. Though the geographical accounts regarding the site of सुह्र differed from time to time, Bāṇa's account probably identified it with Western Bengal, the capital of which was ताम्रलिप्त.<sup>48</sup>

In the remote eastern part of India प्राग्ज्योतिष is referred to as a friendly neighbour of Harṣa.<sup>49</sup> The precious jewels, wooden articles, leather works etc. of this country earned recognition all over India. Prāgjyotiṣa has been mentioned in the महाभारत and

41 सभापर्व (ch. 51.) and (भीष्मपर्व ch. 9).

42 विषचूर्णचुम्बितमकरन्देन च कर्णेन्द्रीवरेण देवकीदेवरानुरक्ता देवसेनं सौहृम.

43 महाभारत, आदिपर्व, ch. 113.

44 Ch. 113.

45 Ch. VI.

46 सभा ch. 29.

47 Jataka, vol. I, p. 232.

48 Vide P. V. Kane's *Harṣacarita*—Note on the point.

49 प्राग्ज्योतिषेश्वरो हि देवेन...अजर्यं सङ्गतमिच्छति ।

by Ptolemy.<sup>50</sup> In the *ब्रह्मपुराण*<sup>51</sup> and in the *Rāmāyaṇa*<sup>52</sup> प्राग्ज्योतिष has been spoken as the capital of the kingdom of Kāmṛūpa. Though Bāṇa refers to प्राग्ज्योतिष<sup>53</sup> it came to be replaced by कामरूप as early as the 4th/5th cent. A.D. In the Gupta inscriptions कामरूप has been mentioned and not the प्राग्ज्योतिष.<sup>54</sup> Although कामरूप and प्राग्ज्योतिष are very often identified, प्राग्ज्योतिष appears to be the name of Assam of a comparatively older age. In later inscriptions डवाक and कामरूप are both mentioned in place of प्राग्ज्योतिष. Hiuen tsang was acquainted with कामरूप and refers to it as 'Kia-nu-lo-po.' The extent of the territory comprising प्राग्ज्योतिष and कामरूप cannot be ascertained from the descriptions of Bāṇa.

Bāṇa refers to a country कार्दरङ्ग by name twice in the *हर्षचरित* the identification of which is a matter of great dispute.<sup>55</sup> Śaṅkara explains कार्दरङ्गचर्म as कार्दरङ्गदेशभवानां स्फोटकानाम्. The context makes it clear that this country was noted for its supply of leather shields, metal armours and various other articles. Kārdaraṅga probably corresponded to the Kārājang of Marco Polo. Bāṇa refers to कार्दरङ्ग in connection with the description of the articles brought from कामरूप. It may be that कार्दरङ्ग was a country lying on the eastern border of India. The distortion of Kārājang (referred to by Ptolemy<sup>56</sup>) into Sanskrit कार्दरङ्ग may not at all be an impossibility. Kārājang included the Eastern Yūnān province and was famous for the export of leather articles, tin, copper, gold etc. We may identify कार्दरङ्ग with Kārājang until further evidence regarding its location are not forthcoming.

50 Ptolemy's *Geography of ancient (Eastern) Asia* by Gerini, p. 238. fn. 1.

51 Ch. 28.

52 Kiṣkiṇḍhyā ch. 42.

53 प्राग्ज्योतिषेश्वरेण कुमारेण प्रहितां

54 Cf. कामरूपनेपालकर्तृपुरादि प्रत्यन्तनृपतिभिः—Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscr.

55 कार्दरङ्गचर्मणां सम्भारान् and पुरश्चञ्चामरकिमीरकार्दरङ्गचर्ममण्डल मण्डनोद्गी यमानचटुलडामरचारभटभरितभुवनान्तरैः—ch. 7. P. V. Kane's *Harṣacarita*.

56 Ptolemy's *Geography of ancient Asia* (Eastern) by Gerini, p. 737.

Such identification gains ground further from the association of Suvarṇapura with Upper Burma. In the कादम्बरी Bāṇa refers to Suvarṇapura as the abode of the Mlecchas roaming about the mountainous terrains of the Hemakūṭa and as lying close to the sea.<sup>57</sup> Kailāsa was about 120 miles to the west of सुवर्णपुर.<sup>58</sup> The *Brhat Samhitā*<sup>59</sup> mentions the सुवर्णभूः; its classical name in the Burmese documents is Soṇāparanta—the Chryse Regia of Ptolemy. Fergusson tries to identify it with Thaton on the Sitang river 40 miles to the north of Martaban. The महावंश<sup>60</sup> refers to the सुवर्णभूमि. The identification of कार्दरङ्ग with Kārājāṅg may not at all be improbable in view of the association of सुवर्णपुर with Burmā.<sup>61</sup>

That Kāśmīr was known to Bāṇa, can be attested from the reference in हर्षचरित.<sup>62</sup>

Among the countries hostile to Prabhākaravardhana, Bāṇa mentions the हूणदेश, सिन्धुदेश, गुर्जरदेश, गान्धारदेश, लाटदेश and मालव.<sup>63</sup> That the Hūṇas in his time were settled in the north western frontier of India has been vouched by other references of Bāṇa.<sup>64</sup> The Kuvalayamālā of Udyotana Sūri refers to the existence of the Hūṇas in Punjab

57 कदाचित् कैलाससमीपचारिणां हेमकूटधाम्नां किरातानां सुवर्णपुरं नाम निवासस्थानं पूर्वजलनिधेजित्वा जग्राह ।

58 तस्मात् प्रदेशात् पञ्चदशयोजनमात्रमध्वानं जगाम ।

59 Ch. XIV. V. 31.

60 Ch. XII.

61 Vide *Suvarṇadvīpa*, R. C. Majumdar, The commentary of Śaṅkara notes a variant कामेरङ्ग for the word कार्दरङ्ग. In the account of Ibn Khurdādhīb and other travellers Kāmrūn has been given as the old name of कामरूप. Kāmrūn may be a variation of कामेरङ्ग. The point is however a most debatable one and is to be solved by the scholars.

62 काश्मीरकिरीय इव वलग्न्यः — 4th ch.

63 तेषु चैवमुत्पद्यमानेषु कमेणोदपादि हूणहरिणकेसरी सिन्धुराजचवरो गुर्जरप्रजागरा गान्धाराधिपगन्धद्विपकूटपाकलो लाटपाटवपाटच्चरो मालवलक्ष्मीलतापरशुः प्रतापशील इति प्रथितापरनामा प्रभाकरवर्द्धनो नाम राजाधिराजः — 4th ch.

64 हूणान् हन्तुं हरिणानिव...प्रविष्टे च कैलासप्रभाभासिनो ककुभं भ्रातरि ।



as late as 777 A.D.<sup>65</sup> The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* also refers to the Hūṇas<sup>66</sup> as being settled in the Punjab.

Gurjara occupied parts of the eastern Indus basin and the western side of Rājputānā which Hiuen tsang calls by the name 'Kue-che-lo': Vinayacandra in his काव्यशिखा refers to Gurjara as a northern country. The name Gurjara was not probably extended to the peninsula of Gujrāt during the time of Hiuen tsang. Cunningham remarks—"I have already shown that the name of Gūrjara was confined to western Rājputānā in the time of Hiuen tsang and that it was still a distinct country from Saurāṣṭra in A.D. 812 when Karkarāja of Lāṭeśvara recorded his grant of land."

Lāṭa in the time of Bāṇa comprised Southern Guzrat including Khandesh which was situated between the Māhi and the lower Tāpti. Lāṭa has been called Larike by Ptolemy. The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* refers to it<sup>67</sup>. In the कामसूत्र of वात्स्यायण it has also been mentioned. Dhauli inscription mentions it as Lāthikā. In the "Periplus of the Erythrian Sea" it has been mentioned as Ariaca and as situated to the South of Barygaza (Broach).

Gāndhāra has also been referred to by Bāṇa. Its earliest reference dates back as early as the time of the *R̥gveda* where the Gāndhāris who were famous for their sheep and wool had been mentioned. Gāndhāra had been mentioned by Pāṇini<sup>68</sup> and was situated to the south of Kapiśā comprising the valley of the Kābul river. Gāndhāra had been mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* for the precious quality of the wools of that country. In the Jātaka stories<sup>69</sup> Kāshmir had sometimes been included within Gāndhāra. Hecataeus of Miletus (549-468 B.C) referred to Kāshmir as belonging to Gāndhāra. Strabo refers to Gāndhāra as lying along the river Kabul.

65 Ref. *Sakas in India* by S. Chattopadhyaya, pp. 76-77.

66 सौवीराः सैन्धवा हूणाः शाखाः शाकलवासिनः ।

67 Ch. 55.

68 In IV. 1. 169; IV, 2. 133; IV, 3. 93.

69 No. 406.

Hiuen tsang calls it 'Kieu-to-lo' and during Harṣa's reign it included the Peshwar and Charsadda Districts.

Bāṇa referred to M ā l w a several times.<sup>70</sup> Vidiśā was its capital. Ujjainī had been referred to as the capital of अवन्ति and was encircled by the river Śiprā.<sup>71</sup> Ujjainī was a seat of Buddhist culture ( विहारभूषणा ) and was situated on a hilly track ( सदासन्नवसुधाधरा ). In western India अवन्ति has been referred to and in Eastern India मगध has been mentioned once again ( अवन्तिविषयगतमपि मागधजनाधिष्ठितम् ).

Bāṇa pours out invectives against the inhabitants of the Dr ā v i ḍ a country where the practice of sorcery, exorcism etc. were in vogue<sup>72</sup> Though the territorial boundary of Andhra underwent changes from time to time, it generally comprised of the district situated at the mouth of the Godāvarī and the valley of the Wārdhā river and the South Ganjām district. In the early Brāhmaṇa texts, Pāli Jātakas etc. the Andhras are mentioned. The worship of the goddess चरिडका was prevalent among the people of Andhra.

K e r a l a was likewise known to Bāṇa.<sup>73</sup> Reference to Ceylon may also be met with.<sup>74</sup>

K u l ū t a which has also been referred to by Hiuen tsang has been mentioned in the कादम्बरी.<sup>75</sup> Both the काव्यमीमांसा and the बृहत्संहिता place कुलूत among the countries lying to the north.<sup>76</sup>

The *Geographical Dictionary* opines that Kulūta formed part of the कुलिन्ददेश. The subdivision of Kulu in the Kāngrā district in the upper Beas valley of the Punjab was known as कुलूत.<sup>77</sup>

70 मज्जन्मालवविलासिनी कुचतटास्फालन...वेत्तवत्या परिगता विदिशाभिधाना नगरी राजधानी आसीत् ( कादम्बरी ) ।

71 सिप्रया परिक्षिता अवन्तिषूजयिनी नाम नगरी ।

72 जरद्विद्वधार्मिकेण कचिन्मुण्डोपहाराहरणोद्यतद्विद्वप्रार्थ्यमानामर्दकम् ।

73 मधुमदोपरक्तकेरलीकपोल कोमलच्छविना ।

74 अन्नद्राविद्वसिंहलप्रायेण सेवकजनेन ....

75 पूर्वं कुलूतराजधानीमवजित्य कुलूतेश्वरदुहिता पत्तलेखाभिधाना वालिका सती वन्दीजनेन सहानीय....

76 ऐशान्यां मेरुकनधराज्य पशुपाल कीरकाशमीराः, अभिसारदरदत्तकण कुलूत सैरिन्धवनराष्ट्राः— h. XIV. बृहत् संहिता.

77 Vide Arch. Survey Report 1907-8, p. 260.

Śvetadvīpa also known as श्वेतगिरि was the portion of the Himālaya lying to the east of Tibet.<sup>78</sup> The *Mahābhārata*<sup>79</sup> and the *मत्स्यपुराण*<sup>80</sup> refer to श्वेतद्वीप.

Among the remote northern countries उत्तरकुरु is mentioned.<sup>81</sup> उत्तरकुरु has been mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*<sup>82</sup>, in the *महाभारत*<sup>83</sup> and comprised of the northern portion of the Gārhwal and the Hūṇadeśa (N. W. India) through which the river मन्दाकिनी passes. Originally it included the countries beyond the Himālaya. Ptolemy calls it Oṭṭarakara. According to the *महाभारत*<sup>84</sup> parts of Tibet and Eastern Turkestan were included in Uttarakuru. The *क्रिष्णध्याकाण्ड* (ch. 43) of the *Rāmāyaṇa* speaks to the same effect. According to Mr. Bunsen the slopes of the Belur Tagh (a mountain range in Central Asia in the high land of the Pamir in which the great rivers of the region have got their source), are the Uttarakuru of the Aryan Hindus.<sup>85</sup> It has been mentioned as द्रविष्य. According to the *ब्रह्माण्डपुराण*<sup>86</sup> उत्तरकुरु was situated far to the north of India and was bounded on the north by the ocean.

China was also known to the Indians.

किम्पुरुषवर्ष was situated to the north of India.<sup>87</sup> The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* tells us that किम्पुरुषवर्ष was next to भारतवर्ष lying between the हिमवत् and हेमकूट (II.2).

Bāṇa mentions the Sabaras, Pulindas etc. as hilly tribes mostly resorting to the mountainous terrains of India.<sup>88</sup> Pulindas

78 श्वेतद्रोणलक्ष्मोमिवान्यद्वीपावलोकनकुतूहलागताम् and श्वेतद्वीपमम्भवैरिव मितवेषपरिग्रहृतया ।

79 सभापर्व ।

80 Ch. 112. v. 38.

81 उत्तरकुरुकामिनोकर्णात्पल प्रेङ्खोलनदोहदिभिः ।

82 viii. 4. 4.

83 वनपर्व. Ch. 145.

84 भीष्मपर्व. Ch. 7.

85 Balfour's Cyclopaedia of India.

86 Ch. 48. v. 43.

87 अस्माद् भारतवर्षादुत्तरेणान्तरे किम्पुरुषनाम्निवर्षे वर्षपर्वतो हेमकूटो नाम निवासः ।

88 अभिषेकावतीर्णपुलिन्दराजसुन्दरीकुचचन्दनधूलिधवलिततरङ्गम्.....शवरका-  
मिनोकुचकलसल्लितजलम् ।

resided in the hilly tracts of central India near the source of the river Godāvarī. Śabara was probably a general nomenclature for some hilly tribes speaking a non-Aryan dialect.<sup>89</sup>

One of the allusions states that नागसेन the ruler of Padmāvati lost his life for leakage of secret counsels.<sup>90</sup> Padmāvati has also been the centre of the dramatic events of the मालतीमाधव. Padmāvati refers to modern Padampura nearing the Narwar. The शल्यपर्व (46.9) refers to it. The Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription contains reference to नागसेन of पद्मावती. The Khajurāho Inscr. (C. 1001-2 A.D.) refers to पद्मावती.<sup>91</sup>

Ś r ā v a s t ī referred to by Bāṇa ( शुक्रभूतहस्यस्य च श्रीरशीर्यत श्रुतवर्मणः श्रावस्त्याम् ) may be identified with the ruins at Sahet-Mahet. श्रावस्ती has been mentioned over and over again in the Buddhist texts. Mathurā, Vatsa, and Cedi were known from the age of the Vedas and the Epics, but no trace of Vatsa could be found in the map of India of the 7th century A. D.

A ś m a k a has been mentioned in गान्धर्वच्छात्तच्छद्धानः, चिच्छिदुरश्मकेखरस्य शरभस्य शिरो। It occupied the upper Godāvarī valley and dates back to the early centuries before Christ. Nāsik Cave Inscr. of the Vāsiṣṭhaputra Pulumāvi (A.D. 149) contains reference to ऋषिक and अश्मक.<sup>92</sup> Bāṇa mentioned अश्मक incidentally. It ceased to exist as a geographical unit at the time of Bāṇa.

The king of M e k a l a is said to have been slain in गोधनगिरि.<sup>93</sup> Mekala refers to Mt. अमरकण्ठक wherefrom the river नर्मदा springs. Narbadā is also called मेकलकन्या in the अमरकोश. मेकल as a hill is referred to in the बृहत्संहिता also.<sup>94</sup>

G o d h a n a g i r i is the same as गोरथगिरि—a small isolated hill about 5/6 miles to the west of the valley of old राजगीर.

89 अविज्ञायमानालापतया हासहेतुं पुनः पुनः कोडापर्वतपातृशवरीमालापयन्तीम् ।

90 नागकुलजन्मनः शारिकाश्रावितमन्त्रस्यासीन्नाशो नागसेनस्य पद्मावत्याम् ।

91 Cf. रुद्रदेवमतिलनागदत्तचन्द्रवर्मणपतिनागनागसेनाच्युत....

92 Vide, JBBRAS., vol. II, p. 62.

93 ...मागर्धं गोधनगिरिसुरुक्ष्या स्वविषयं मेकलाधिपमन्त्रिणः ।

94 मेकलकिराताठविका बहिरन्तः शैलजाः पुलिन्दाश्च ch. XVI.

महाभारत ( सभा. ch 20 ) refers to गोधनगिरि. In the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela (C. 1st cent B.C.) गोरथगिरि is mentioned<sup>95</sup>.

वीरसेन दध्न of K a r u ṣ a usurped the kingdom of Kaliṅga ruled by भद्रसेन ( दध्नस्य करुषाधिपतेरभवन्मृत्यवे ). Two countries by the name of करुष are mentioned, one in the east and the other in the west. The हरिवंश refers to करुष (ch 106). In the भीष्मपर्व (ch. 9) it has been alluded to as being situated between the मत्स्य and the भोज. The Purāṇas refer to it as a country on the back of the Vindhya range. Karuṣa is mentioned in the Vārtika on Pāṇini 4. 2. 176. According to Pargiter करुष was situated to the south of Kāśi and Vatsa, between चेदी on the west and मगध on the east, enclosing the Kaimur hills. According to the testimony of the रामायण (1. 24) a portion of the modern Shahabad Dist. in U. P. was known as Karuṣa. Martin's "Eastern India" (vol. I, p 405) suggests that portions of the district between the river Soṇa and Karmanāśā was known as Karuṣadeśa. ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराण ( पूर्वखण्ड ch. 5) identifies it with modern Bunar. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa however classifies it within the countries of the west ( कारुषा मालवाश्चैव पारियात्रनिवासिनः ).

C a k o r a has been identified with a mountain in Eastern India in the काव्यमोमांसा.<sup>96</sup> Bāṇa refers to it in the हर्षचरित<sup>97</sup>. The Nāsik Cave Inscr. of Vaśiṣṭhaputra Pulumāvi (149 A. D.)<sup>98</sup> contains reference to चक्रोर.<sup>99</sup>

Campā has been alluded to in a story.<sup>100</sup> Campā was a city on the भागिरथी four miles to the west of Bhāgalpur and was one of the six great cities of the time of Buddha. The

<sup>95</sup> अग्रमे च वर्षे अचिन्तयित्वा शातकिं महता सेनया गोरथगिरिं धातयित्वा राजगृहमुपपीडयति ।

<sup>96</sup> बृहद्गृह लोहितगिरिचक्रोरदुर्नेपाल कामरूपादयः पर्वताः ।

<sup>97</sup> ससचिवमेव दूरीचकार चक्रोरनार्थं शूद्रकदूतश्चन्द्रकेतुं जीवितात्—ch. 6.

<sup>98</sup> Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. II.

<sup>99</sup> मलयमहेन्द्रश्रेष्ठगिरिचक्रोरपर्वतपतेः ।

<sup>100</sup> मृगयासक्तस्य च मथ्नतो गण्डकानुद्गण्डनङ्गलनलवननिलीनाश्च चम्पाधिपचमूचरभटाश्चामुण्डीपतेराचमुः प्राणान् पुष्करस्य ।

महापरिनिर्वाणसूत mentions Campā as one of the six great cities of the time (S.B.E. vol. XI).

V a i r a n t ī has also been referred to (...वैरन्त्यं रन्तिदेवम्). Bhāsa places the scene of his drama अविमारक in the वैरन्त्यनगर. It was the capital of a king कुन्तिभोज by name. It may be identified with the Rantipura (modern Rintipur) on the Gomati, a branch of the Chambal. It was the abode of रन्तिदेव referred to by Kālidāsa (रन्तिदेवस्य कीर्त्तिम्). In the द्रोणपर्व (ch 67) वैरन्ती is alluded to.

In the wilderness of the Vindhya hills अटवीराज्य is mentioned.<sup>101</sup> अटवीराज्य and महाकान्तार of the Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscr. are probably the same.<sup>102</sup>

Of the more important mountains Bāṇa refers to Dardura and Malaya. Dardura is to be identified with the Nilgiri hills in the Madras Presidency.<sup>103</sup>

According to the वराहपुराण<sup>104</sup> M a n d a r a was situated to the south of the Ganges and on the Vindhya range. The अनुशासनपर्व (ch. 19) and वनपर्व (ch. 162) do not recognise any other मन्दर except the मलय of the Himālaya range<sup>105</sup> In some of the Purāṇas the वदरिकाश्रम (which contains the temple of नरनारायण) is said to be situated on the मन्दर mountain but in the महाभारत (ch. 2. वनपर्व) मन्दर is again placed to the east. Bāṇa's account (आ मन्दराचलात्) tallies with the account of the वराहपुराण.

M t. S u b e l a has also been referred to.<sup>106</sup> The Rāmāyaṇa refers to Mt. सुवेल.<sup>107</sup> पारियात्र has likewise been mentioned<sup>108</sup>. From the बृहत्संहिता (69. 11-12) it seems that it was in Mālawa and corresponded to the western portion of the Vindhya and Āravali hills. The sources of Chambal and Śiprā are to be traced

101 एकदातु भूपतेर्भ्रमत एवाटविकसामन्तशरभकेतोः सनु....

102 माहकान्तारकव्याध्रराज ।

103 Cf. J.R.A.S., 1847 ; रघु V ; बृहत् संहिता ch. 14.

104 Ch. 143.

105 Vide Geographical Dict.

106 आ...सुवेलात्—हर्षचरित (ch. 6th.)

107 स तु कृत्वा सुवेलस्य मतिमारोहणं प्रति । युद्धकाण्ड 38.1.

108 अदृश्यमान पारियात्रे यात्रैव शिथिला (हर्षचरित ch. 7).

in it. It has been mentioned in the Nāsik Inscription (No. 2) of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī.<sup>109</sup> The Mahābhāṣya refers to it as the southern boundary of आर्यावर्त्त.<sup>110</sup>

Bāṇa's works are thus replete with various informations concerning ancient Indian Geography. These agree substantially with the accounts furnished by other older works, and all of them taken together serve to focus new light on the annals of ancient Indian history.

DILEEP KUMAR KANJILAL

109 विन्ध्यऋक्षवत् पारियात्तसह्य...गिरिमर्त्यश्रोः ।

110 दक्षिणेन पारियात्तम् ।

# Rāmabhadra and Bhoja : the Imperial Pratihāras

(A Revised Study)

Rāmabhadra (C. 833-836 A.D.)\*

As the first inscription of Rāmabhadra's successor, Bhoja I, belongs to V. 893 (836 A.D.) and the last known date of Nāga-bhaṭa II is V. 890,<sup>1</sup> Rāmabhadra could have ruled for two or three years only, from V. 890 to V. 893. That he had to face trouble, internal as well as external, can be assumed on the basis of verse 12 of Bhoja's Sāgartāl inscription which states that he "had the haughty commanders of armies forcibly bound down by his (subordinate) kings who had the best cavalry under their charge and looked radiant by having destroyed the obstacles caused by the evil-doers."<sup>2</sup> Internal trouble may have been caused by over-powerful feudatories, and the external by Devapāla of Bengal who is credited not only with the *disviṣaya* of Āryāvarta (Bādal inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla's reign)<sup>3</sup> but also of the whole of Bhāratavarṣa (Devapāla's Monghyr Plates)<sup>4</sup>. Devapāla's claims, though highly exaggerated, may not have been mere bombast,<sup>5</sup> and even if he did nothing more, he probably succeeded in recovering some of the Pāla territories lost as a result of

\*In a paper entitled, "The Imperial Pratihāras, A Revised Study," published in the *Journal of Indian History*, 1943, the history of the Imperial Pratihāras was brought down to V. 890, the year of Nāga-bhaṭa II's death. In this paper we deal with his two immediate successors, Rāmabhadra and Bhoja I, stressing the points wherein we differ from eminent writers on the subject like Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. R. S. Tripathi and Dr. A.S. Altekar.

1 The date of death is given by the *Prabhāvākacrita*.

2 *El.*, XVIII, p. 108.

3 verse 5.

4 verse 15.

5 For divergent views on the point see Dr. B. P. Sinha's *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 370 and Dr. R. S. Tripathi's *History of Kanauj*, p. 240.



Nāgabhaṭa II's victory at Monghyr. But did Rāmabhadra lose much more than that, say Bundelkhand as well as Gurjaratrā as contended by some writers?

The Barāh Plate is supposed to supply such evidence regarding the loss of Bundelkhand. But almost every thing that the Plate has to say can be put down as follows:<sup>6</sup>

1. That it was issued from the camp situated at Mahodāya, i.e., Kanauj, by Bhojadeva in V. 893.
2. That the Grant referred to in it had originally been made by *Paramēśvara* Śarvavarman and later on confirmed by Mahārāja Śrī-Nāgabhaṭa.
3. That *through the incapacity of the legal officer*<sup>7</sup> the donee could not have his dues for a short period in the reign of Mahārāja Śrī-Rāmabhadra.
4. That Bhojadeva, after going through the old history of the Grant, declared the obstruction illegal and gave back the Valākāgrahāra, which lay in the Udumbara-*viṣaya* of the Kālanjara-*maṇḍala* in the Kānyakubja-*bhukti* to the Brāhmaṇas born of the family of Bhaṭṭa Kacara-svāmin.

None of these four facts can, I believe, prove that Bundelkhand had passed away from Rāmabhadra's hands.<sup>8</sup> The facts 1 and 4, viz., the issue of the Plate from Kanauj and the confirmation of the Grant relating to lands in Kālanjara-*maṇḍala* in the very first year of Bhoja's reign, (when probably he had made no new additions to the Pratihāra empire) should rather indicate that Kanauj and Bundelkhand had been bequeathed to him by his father, Rāmabhadra. And as to fact 3, the non-recovery of his dues by the donee for a short period in Rāmabhadra's reign, why

6 *El.*, XIX, pp. 15-19.

7 The words are "*vyavahāriṇo vaigūnyāt kiñcitkālamvibatam*". Why should not scholars give them their literal sense?

8 See respectively *El.*, XVIII, p. 106, *History of Kanauj*, p. 237, and *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 370.

should we not accept the statement of the Plate itself that the obstruction was due to the incapacity of the judicial officer? No logical principle, whether of agreement or difference or of *anvaya-vyatireka*, as a Sanskritist might put it, compels one to associate *vicchedas* of Grants with political changes and revolutions. The *Tilaka-mañjarī* of Dhanapāla (p. 54, Nirṇayasagar Press) shows that it was almost a routine duty of a ruler to tour, not over any conquered territory, but over his own dominions and to restore *vicchedas*, which in the circumstances could have been mostly due to judicial or executive aberration. *Dānaviccheda*, obviously, was a disease that could affect the body politic even in the absence of major political changes. That there was at least no causal connection between these two factors should be clear also from fact 4, noted above. Though one major political change followed another in fairly quick succession from the time of Śarvavarman Maukhari to the reign of the Imperial Pratibhāra Nāgabhaṭa II, the original donee's descendants were left undisturbed in the possession of the land granted to them, and would have remained its masters even up to V. 893, but for some judicial error. Devapāla's conquest is irrelevant to the issue, for even if he had conquered Bundelkhand, he probably would have tried to practise what he preached in his Monghyr Plate, *viz.* "Land has been enjoyed by many rulers, Sagara and others. His is the merit who actually possesses it. One, who took away land donated either by himself or others, became a dung-worm and suffered along with his ancestors."

The inference of decline in Rāmabhadra's power in Gurjaratrā is even less justified. The Daulatpurā Grant, on the basis of which this conclusion is drawn, merely speaks of: —

1. a grant in Śivāgrahāra of the *Deṇḍavānaka-viṣaya* of Gurjaratrā by Mahārāja Śrī-Vatsarājadeva,
2. of the transfer of a sixth part of this gift by the donee, Bhaṭṭa Vāsudeva, to another Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇu with the approval of Mahārāja Śrī-Nāgabhaṭadeva,
3. of the loss of the deed of donation as well as approval in Bhoja's reign, and

4. of their restoration by Bhoja in V. 900, after going through the relevant records.<sup>9</sup>

Is there really any evidence of decline in Pratihāra power?<sup>10</sup> Deeds sometimes get lost even now and have to be renewed. And even if for the sake of argument it is conceded that Imperial Pratihāra power did decline in Gurjaratrā, why should Rāmabhadra's name be associated with it? The Grant states that both the deed and its approval were lost not in Rāmabhadra's but in Bhoja's reign.

Rāmabhadra was a devout worshipper of Sūrya.<sup>11</sup> It was because of this devotion that he called his son Mihira.

### *Bhoja I*

The next ruler, Bhoja I, Mihira or Mihira-Bhoja, should be regarded as the greatest ruler of the Pratihāra dynasty. When he came to the throne, Devapāla was still ruling in Bengal. On the western side, the danger from the Arabs of Sindh had never ended. In the south, Amoghavarṣa, an inheritor of the traditions, set up by the redoubtable Rāṣtrakūṭa raiders, Dantidurga, Dhruva and Govinda III, could always be a potential danger to the Pratihāra empire; and within the empire itself the increased power of the feudatories who had helped Rāmabhadra against his enemies could ultimately be more a source of weakness than strength. It is clear that the Pratihāra throne was to be no bed of roses for the youthful ruler.

Most writers on Pratihāra history assume that Bhoja's first task was the restoration of his authority in Bundelkhand and Gurjaratrā.<sup>12</sup> But if our reconstruction of Rāmabhadra's history

9 *El.*, V, p. 208.

10 See my paper on the Pratihāras of Maṇḍor published in the *Birla Vidya Vihar Magazine*, vols. II and III, pp. 11-20, Hindi Section.

11 He is described in Pratihāra inscriptions as *Paramādtiyabhakta*. In verse 15 of the Sāgartāl inscription he is said to have obtained his son Mihira by propitiating the Sun through mysterious rites.

12 See *History of Kanauj*, p. 238, and R. C. Majumdar in *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 29-30.

is correct, no such effort must have been necessary; both these areas were within the Pratihāra empire at the time of Bhoja's accession and probably remained so to the end of his reign. Dr. Majumdar, no doubt, assumes that Bhoja lost Gurjaratrā between 843 A. D., the date of his Daulatpurā Plate and 861 A. D., the year of the Maṇḍor Pratihāra Kakkuka's Ghaṭiyālā inscription which "refers to the province as being held by that king" (Bhoja).<sup>13</sup> But the assumption is fallacious, for the Ghaṭiyālā inscription, instead of saying that Kakkuka ruled over Gurjaratrā, merely states that he had won great renown in Travaṇi, Valla, Māḍa, Ārya, Gurjaratrā, Lāṭa and Parvata.<sup>14</sup> Renown could have been easily obtained even by acting as Bhoja's general or deputy in some of these regions.<sup>15</sup> Kakkuka's father, Kakka, had similarly "won fame" in the battle of Monghyr,<sup>16</sup> even though none maintains that Monghyr was within the Pratihāra kingdom of Maṇḍor.

Actually Bhoja's reign may have begun with a conflict with Devapāla of Gauda who, as we have seen, is credited with the *digvijaya* of practically the whole of India.<sup>17</sup> More specifically we are told in the Bādal inscription that attending to his minister Kedāramiśra's advice, Devapāla "eradicated the race of the Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Hūṇas and scattered the conceit of the Draviḍas and Gūrjaras."<sup>18</sup> The Draviḍas mentioned here may either be Pallavas or Pāṇḍyas.<sup>19</sup> But the Gūrjara ruler who

13 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 30.

14 *Yena prāptā mahākhyātis-Travaṇyām Valla-Māḍayoh/  
Āryeṣu Gūrjaratrāyām Lāṭadeśe ca Parvate*||

15 Of the countries mentioned in the last footnote Lāṭa was under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Gujarāt. Perhaps the campaign in which he took part against them is the one referred to in the Bagumrā Plates of 867 A.D.

16 *El.*, XVIII, p. 96. "Yaso Mudgagirau labdham yena Gaudaiḥ samam raṇe."

17 See footnote 5.

18 See verse 13.

19 *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 51, *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 373, fn. 2.

was Kedāramiśra's contemporary can only be the Pratihāra ruler Bhoja.<sup>20</sup>

Dr. R. C. Majumdar believes that at some time or other in his reign Bhoja succeeded in defeating Devapāla.<sup>21</sup> The view is based on verse 18 of Bhoja's Sāgartāl inscription which is supposed to state that Bhoja had as his remarried bride "the other Lakṣmī, the source of the fame of Dharma's (Dharmapāla's) son." But as pointed out elsewhere by me, Dr. Majumdar has misunderstood the verse.<sup>22</sup> If it is anything that the writer of the inscription is out to impress on the reader, it is that Bhoja's Lakṣmī stood in a class by herself. She was no *punarbhū*, i. e., remarried woman. She was different from Lakṣmī, the consort of Viṣṇu, for unlike her she was born not from *kṣīrasāgara* but the *sāgara*, known as the enemies' army, which was churned by *kula* mountains in the form of rulers belonging to Bhoja's clan; and she was *dharmāpatyayaśas-prasūti*, i. e., the source of *dharma* and *yaśas* instead of being *Kāmaprasūti* like Viṣṇu's Lakṣmī. Actually, therefore, the verse has no reference to Dharma's son, Devapāla, or of his Lakṣmī (sovereignty) being wedded as a *punarbhū* by Bhoja.

Devapāla was probably middle-aged when Bhoja ascended the throne. When he (Devapāla) passed away in c. 850 and was succeeded by three unmartial rulers, Śūrapāla, Vīgrahapāla I and Nārāyaṇapāla, Bhoja had his chance. And to add to Pāla difficulties, there were Rāṣṭrakūṭa attacks, both by Amoghavarṣa I and his successor Kṛṣṇa II<sup>23</sup> and the conquest of Rādha by the Śulkī king,

20 "As Kedāramiśra, the grandson of Darbhapaṇi, who had served Devapāla, is given the credit for this success over 'the lord of Gūrjaras', the event must have happened in the last years of Devapāla, and then his contemporary at that time must have been Bhoja I." (B.P. Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*). Who was the aggressor cannot, however, be decided on the basis of this reference.

21 *El.*, XVIII, p. 106. The view has been adopted, without any critical examination, by many writers on the subject.

22 *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, vol. XXIV, pp.70-1.

23 *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 388; *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 53.

*Mahārājādhirāja* Raṇastambha.<sup>24</sup> The Kāhlā Plates, discovered in Gorakhpur District, state that Guṇāmbhodhideva, who was ninth in ascent from Sodhadeva (V. 1134), received land from Bhoja and *took away by force the royal fortune of Gauda*.<sup>25</sup> Considering the date of Guṇāmbhodhideva, we have to regard him as one of Bhoja Pratihāra's generals rewarded for his services against the Pālas. Another Pratihāra feudatory who took part in this expedition was probably Guhila of Chāṭṣū who is described in his grandson Bālāditya's inscription as a devoted follower of his master (*svāminiṣṭhabh*) *exacting tribute from eastern rulers after defeating the Lord of Gauda*.<sup>26</sup> The overlord can, no doubt, be Bhoja's son and successor, Mahendrapāla also, as opined by Dr. R. S. Tripathi.<sup>27</sup> But as Guhila's grandfather, Saṅkaragaṇa, served Bhoja's grandfather, Nāgabhaṭa II, we should regard Bhoja and Guhila as contemporary rulers. If Guhila's father, Harṣa, also served Bhoja,<sup>28</sup> it was due to the abnormally short reign of Rāmabhadra.

On the basis of the above evidence, specially the Kāhlā Plates, we can conclude that in the latter part of Bhoja's reign the Pratihāra dominions expanded eastwards and reached at least as far as Gorakhpur. Actually the extension of the empire may have been even greater. Bihār has no inscriptions of Nārāyaṇapāla between his seventeenth and fifty-fourth regnal years.<sup>29</sup> If this was due to the disappearance of Pāla power from this region, credit for this may partly be given to Bhoja whose last year roughly corresponds to Nārāyaṇapāla's thirty-first regnal year.<sup>30</sup> Bihār, between the 17th and 31st regnal years of

24 *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 388.

25 *El.*, VII, pp. 85-92.

26 *History of Kanauj*, p. 250; *El.*, XII p. 15, verse 23.

27 *History of Kanauj*, p. 250.

28 *El.*, XII, p. 15, verse 19

29 *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 388.

30 & 31 I regard Bihār as the scene of a protracted struggle because for a number of years neither a Pratihāra nor a Pāla inscription is to be found there. The situation changes with the accession of Mahendrapāla.

Nārāyaṇapāla, must have been the scene of a protracted Pratihāra-Pāla conflict, which probably ended early in the reign of Mahendrapāla Pratihāra with the complete conquest of Bihar and the extension of Pratihāra power even to some parts of Bengal.<sup>31</sup>

On the northern side, success appears to have come early to Bhoja, for Śaṅkaragaṇa's son, Harṣa of Chātsū, who could have been only an elder contemporary of Bhoja, is described as having defeated the northern rulers with the help of his mighty elephant force and to have "presented loyally to Bhoja *horses* of a breed, the *Śrīvamsā*, which could cross seas of sand."<sup>32</sup> The rulers defeated are not specified, but from the reference to sandy tracts, it is likely that they might have been the Arabs of Sindh and Multān. Bhoja is described by Sulaimān as the Muslims' greatest enemy.<sup>33</sup> Multān always stood in terror of the Pratihāras, and we are told by the Arab traveller, Al-Masūdī, that "when the unbelievers march against Multān and the faithful do not feel themselves strong enough to oppose them, they threaten to break their idol and their enemies immediately withdraw."<sup>34</sup>

A fragmentary inscription recovered from the footsteps of Purānā Qilā, Delhi, has shown that Delhi was included within Bhoja's dominions.<sup>35</sup> Pehoā in the Karnāl District was not far from here. An inscription found at Pehoa refers itself to the (Harṣa era year) 276, corresponding to 882 A. D., during the victorious reign of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara* Bhojadeva and records the grant of certain religious gifts by a Council (*deśi*) of horse-dealers.<sup>36</sup> The chief purchaser was the Pratihāra State. In places like Traighāṭaka, the State was the only buyer,<sup>37</sup> perhaps because Bhoja wanted to build up a strong cavalry not only by exacting horses as tribute but also purchasing them in markets. And that he was not unsuccessful in his objective can be seen from the Arab traveller

32 *El.*, XII, p. 15, verse 19

33 *ED.*, I, p. 4.

34 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 127.

35 The inscription in question was discovered by Dr. G. H. Ojha.

36 *El.*, I, pp. 186 ff.

37 *Ibid.*

Sulaimān's remark that no other Indian prince had such a fine cavalry.<sup>38</sup>

Extension of Bhoja's territory even further to the north can be presumed, as pointed out already by many scholars, on the basis of the following verse from Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranginī*<sup>39</sup> : —

*Hṛtam Bhojādbhirājena sa sāmrajyamadāpayat/  
Pratibhāratayā bhṛtyībhūte Thakkiyakānvaye ||*

“He (Śaṅkaravarman) caused the universal sovereignty, which had been taken away by the *superior king* Bhoja, to be given to the scion of the Thakkiyaka family, who had become his servant by accepting the office of the Chamberlain.”

The *superior king* Bhoja obviously is *Mahārājādbhirāja-Parameśvara* Bhojadeva of Kanauj. Immediately preceding this verse is the account of the Gurjara king Alakhāna who was defeated by Śaṅkaravarman and forced to surrender Takka to save the rest of his kingdom.<sup>40</sup> One is tempted to regard him as Gūrjara Bhoja's nominee, set to rule over the newly conquered lands, even though there can be no certainty about such a conclusion.

In the beginning, Bhoja had no trouble from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa side. When he ascended the throne in 836 A. D., the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, Amoghavarṣa, being engaged in a bitter life and death struggle with the Eastern Cālukyas and the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭas, had neither time nor energy to prevent the westward expansion of Bhoja's empire, which speedily covered not only Mālhwā but also Saurāṣṭra.<sup>41</sup> At some time before 867 A. D.<sup>42</sup> however, when there was a war for the Gujarāt throne between

38 *ED*, I, p. 4.

39 Book V, verse 151.

40 *Ibid.*, verses 149-150.

41 The westward extension of Bhoja's empire can be inferred from the Partābgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II, the *Vastrāpathamābhātmya* of the *Skandapurāṇa* and Sulaimān's description of Bhoja's empire as a tongue of land. For a fuller discussion see *History of Kanauj and the Age of Imperial Kanauj*.

42 This is the date of the Bagumrā Grant in which the event is mentioned for the first time.



Dhruva II and his younger brother, and Bhoja led a cavalry raid into Gujarāt, with a view to supporting the claims of the latter and bringing Gujarāt under his overlordship. Amoghavarṣa perhaps helped his clansmen.<sup>43</sup> The raid was repulsed by Dhruva II. It was a great achievement, an achievement, if we might use the imagery of the inscription itself, comparable to that of a cloud which overcasts the sky and darkens the midday Sun.<sup>44</sup> But such a check could only have been temporary. To regard it as a disaster, “which reads like a repetition of Harṣa’s rout at the hands of Pulakeśin II”<sup>45</sup> is to exaggerate unduly its importance.

The reign of the next Rāṣtrakūṭa ruler, Amoghavarṣa’s son and successor, Kṛṣṇa II (c. 880-914 A.D.), was, as far as we can see, one of retaliation and counter-retaliation. Angered probably by the continued aggression of the Pratihāras and also their interference in the Gujarāt political affairs, Kṛṣṇa II and his namesake of the Gujarāt branch combined their forces at some time before 888 A.D.<sup>46</sup> and led a raid into Northern India which reached at least as far as Ujjayinī. Verse 14 of Indra III’s Bagumra Plates (914 A.D.) speaks of a war between the Gurjara, i.e. the Pratihāra ruler, and Kṛṣṇa II of Mānyakheṭa in which the latter bore himself valiantly and obviously defeated

43 My inference of a war of succession in which Bhoja interfered is based on verse 37 of the Broach inscription of Dhruva II, which mentions together the attack of the Gūrjara army and the defection of the younger brother, and verse 38 of the same record in which the strong Gūrjara army is described as strengthened by the *kulya* who, I think, can reasonably be identified with the *anṇa* of verse 37. (For the text of the verses see the *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāt*, Part 2, p. 87, Inscription No. 129)

44 *Ibid.*, verse 41. It is one of the best testimonies to the strength of Bhoja in 867 A.D. Other enemies of Dhruva are in comparison with him *hina, dina, tejasā virahita*. To think that Kakkuka of Maṇḍor could have sometime about 861 A.D. turned him out even from his patrimony of Gurjaratrā does not seem reasonable.

45 R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 242-3

46 This is the date of the Ankulesvar Grant in which the event is mentioned (*Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāt*, Part 2, No. 131).

the Pratihāras. The event was till then remembered vividly by old people of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions. More detailed is the description in the Bagumrā Plates (888 A.D.) of Kṛṣṇa II of the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭa branch, according to which he spread far and wide his fame by defeating the enemy at Ujjayinī in a battle witnessed by the Vallabha, i.e., his overlord, Vallabharāja Kṛṣṇa II of Mānyakheta.<sup>47</sup>

Swift retaliation from the Pratihāra side followed.<sup>48</sup> We hear no more of the Gujarāt line of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas after 888 A.D., the year in which we find the Rāṣṭrakūṭa victory at Ujjayinī mentioned. This disappearance has been variously explained.<sup>49</sup> But the best explanation probably comes from the Barton Museum inscription which speaks of a ruler “who was known all around by every one as (Va)rāha”, who probably reached the Revā, i.e., Narmadā, and “caught Kṛṣṇarāja by means of forced marches.”<sup>50</sup> Taken unawares Bhoja’s generals on the southern front had suffered some defeats. But when the Pratihāra military machine was fully geared up, the two Kṛṣṇas appear to have beaten a hasty retreat to their own dominions, hotly pursued probably by Bhoja

47 *Ibid.*, verse 23.

48 Dr N. Venkataramanayya makes Kṛṣṇa’s attack on Ujjayinī follow the Pratihāra conquest of Khetaka-maṇḍala. But this does not seem likely. If Kṛṣṇa II of the Gujarāt branch had accompanied his overlord to Ujjayinī, after the Pratihāra conquest of Khetaka, a grateful master would most probably have restored the territory to its original owner and the Gujarāt line would have continued its career. That this does not happen makes us regard our reconstruction of the events as more reasonable. Kṛṣṇa II is hotly pursued, as definitely stated by the Barton Museum inscription, and caught up by Bhoja near Revā, most probably after the northern Rāṣṭrakūṭa raid. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom of Lāṭa is conquered by Bhoja, and dislodging the enemy needs all the resources of Mānyakheta and is accomplished most probably some years after Bhoja’s death. And finally when this is done, the Gujarāt line is not restored, because it had no share in the reconquest of Khetaka-maṇḍala. The land belongs to the conqueror, *Virabhogyā vasundharā*.

49 See *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1943, p. 166.

50 *El.*, XIX, p. 176 line 12. “*sātirekaiḥ prayāṇaiḥ prāpya drāk Kṛṣṇarājam*”

himself who in spite of his old age could not let go unchallenged this insult to the Pratihāra arms. He came upon Kṛṣṇarāja, when he had just reached the Revā (Narmadā), on the banks of which stood Broach, the capital of the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and defeated the allies decisively.

Thus it was this southward Pratihāra thrust that was responsible for the extinction of the Gujarāt line of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas; and we can infer this fact not only from the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭas not being mentioned after 888 A.D. but also from the Cambay Plates of Govinda IV which speak of Khetaka-maṇḍala<sup>51</sup> being freed by Akālavarṣa (Kṛṣṇa II) from the hold of some enemy.<sup>52</sup> As this event has been regarded as important enough to be mentioned as Kṛṣṇa II's sole achievement in a record of one of his own descendants, the enemy expelled from Khetaka must have been very powerful; and we could perhaps only regard him either as Bhoja himself or one of his successors Mahendrapāla, Bhoja II or Mahīpāla. The Khetaka area was in 910 A.D. under Kṛṣṇa's feudatory Pracaṇḍa.<sup>53</sup> Is it not therefore likely that Khetaka was conquered by Bhoja a little after 888 A.D. and reconquered by Kṛṣṇa II, perhaps during the chaotic conditions that followed the death of Mahendrapāla in c. 908 A.D.

Bhoja's empire included Uttar Pradesh, Central India, Mālwa, Rājasthān, Saurāṣṭra, S. E. Punjab and parts perhaps also of Bihār and Western Punjab. Towards the close of his reign, he conquered Lāta and ended the Gujarāt line of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

In the early part of Bhoja's reign the Pratihāra dominions were visited by the Arab traveller Sulaimān. He speaks of Bhoja's numerous forces, his fine cavalry, his unfriendliness towards the Arabs, the general prosperity of the empire and its

51 *EL.*, VII, p. 20.

52 The enemy according to Dr. A. S. Altekar may have been a member of the Gujarāt branch. But this seems less likely than his being some Pratihāra ruler.

53 Kapadwanj Grant of Kṛṣṇa II, *EL.*, I, p. 52.

safety from robbers. Exchanges in the Pratihāra dominions were, according to him, carried on with silver (and gold) dust.<sup>54</sup> This may be true. But we know also that he issued a number of coins in alloyed silver which bear on the reverse the legend *Ādi-varāha* and have on the reverse “a man with a boar’s head, signifying the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, with a solar wheel in front of him.”<sup>55</sup> The wheel may perhaps be indicative of Bhoja’s *cakravartitva*.

Bhoja was assuredly the greatest Indian ruler of the latter half of the ninth century. Not only did he overcome the early difficulties that faced him, but he built up an empire which in its extent, well-ordered administration and religious freedom allowed to every individual<sup>56</sup> equalled or perhaps even excelled anything that India had seen since the specious days of the Imperial Guptas. The main incentive that inspired Bhoja may not have been personal ambition alone. The title *Ādi-varāha* the primeval boar who rescued the earth from the clutches of demons, which he adopts in his inscriptions as well as coins in spite of being personally a worshipper of the goddess Bhagavatī, proves that he had come to believe that he was divinely commissioned to chastise the enemies of Indian culture and to free the world from their tyranny; and a similar inference can be drawn from verse 22 of the *Sāgartāl* inscription which states that Bhoja destroyed the *asuras* by his supreme knowledge of military science, and from Sulaiman’s statement already quoted, that the Gūjjara, i. e., Bhoja, was the worst enemy of the Arabs in India.

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54 *ED.*, I, p. 4.

55 R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 247. Thakkura Pheru mentions coins of Bhoja, perhaps this very Bhoja.

56 Bhoja was a worshipper of Bhagavatī. He built for his queens a temple of Viṣṇu and speaks with respect of his father’s devotion to the Sun. Numerous temples, devoted to various Hindu gods and goddesses were constructed during his reign. Jain tradition makes him a friend of their *ācārya*, Bappabhaṭṭi.

## Political Implications in Chinese Studies in Bengal 1800-1823

The study of the Chinese language in Baptist missionary circles in Serampore in Bengal between 1806 and 1823 is a phenomenon sufficiently noteworthy to excite investigation. The fact that the British government in Bengal, despite its anti-missionary policy, yet lent encouragement to these Chinese studies is yet more provocative. Was the Company relaxing its anti-missionary stand in this one instance, or did the British authorities in Bengal or their superiors in British government circles in London have ulterior motives? In short, did the Baptist missionaries who engaged in Chinese as opposed to Indian language study receive a measure of government support and encouragement in their work because that government hoped in some way thereby to profit in its relations with China? The writer contends that evidence available to him favors an affirmative answer to the above question. Conclusive proof, however, demands the uncovering of yet more information. Whatever else is vague in this matter, it is certain that the Chinese government in this period specifically prohibited the teaching of Chinese by Chinese subjects to foreigners from the West. It is also reasonably clear that the Baptist missionaries themselves were actuated in their labors solely from zeal for spreading the Christian gospel, though John Marshman, at least, may have been aware of the political as well as the religious significance of his work. In any case, this remarkable missionary-translator in the year 1813 wrote as follows:

"And consider how many myriads of copies (of the Bible) will be required in the course of years; the wisdom of God seems to appear, in thus establishing a press—in Bengal—*secure from all Chinese edicts and mandates*, in a place from whence the Chinese Scriptures can be continually sent to the Burma Empire, Java, Amboyna, Penang, and the Isles of the Sea, and there find their way into the heart of the Chinese Empire."

<sup>1</sup> *Eleventh Report, British and Foreign Bible Society*, 1815, Appendix 73-473. Letter by Marshman dated Dec. 1813.

The above quotation obviously refers to Chinese edicts prohibiting both the teaching of Chinese in China to foreigners and Chinese proscriptions of Christianity and its propagation regularly renewed since the K'ang Hsi-ti proscription following the Rites Controversy late in the 17th century. Since Chinese were known to move back and forth from China to Burma and Indonesia, it was reasonable for Marshman to entertain the hope that if the Bible written in Chinese characters came into the possession of emigrating Chinese beyond the reach of Chinese law enforcement agencies, the sacred book might find its way into China through such Chinese as occasionally returned to their homeland. That this was in practice a decidedly forlorn hope in view of Chinese illiteracy and the hostility of the literate classes to foreign ideas of all kinds, and in particular to foreign religious ideas is, perhaps, irrelevant. That British governmental authorities may have visualized political advantages accruing from "a press secure from all Chinese edicts and mandates" may possess greater relevancy.

## I

John Marshman did not originally smuggle himself into India in defiance of the East India Company's ban on missionaries for the specific purpose of undertaking Chinese studies. In England, he had taught Greek and Latin in Broadmead. He also possessed some knowledge of Hebrew and Arabic and was obviously not one of those of the missionary brethren described by a contemporary source who "had just left off cobbling soles of another kind." He had arrived in India in 1799<sup>2</sup> in the interval between the administrations of the lenient evangelical John Shore and the imperialist Lord Wellesley. In that year, when uncertain whether Lord Wellesley's policy would allow as much latitude to missionary work as had Shore's, the Baptists withdrew into the Danish station of Serampore where British regulations did not apply. It was not until 1806 that Marshman interested himself in Chinese. In the interval, he acquired a

2 *Baptist Periodical Accounts*, I, 504; III, 461.

competent knowledge of both Sanskrit and Bengali and translated parts of the Christian scriptures into both languages. This suggests that Marshman was already an accomplished linguist before the opportunity to study Chinese came his way.

Lord Wellesley's educational policies with respect to training British youths for the Indian civil service in India were chiefly responsible for the opportunity in Chinese that came to Marshman. Wellesley believed that the proper kind of education might improve British administration in India and make it more efficient and also more acceptable to the subject people. He thought it wise to force prospective British civil servants in India to learn an Indian language or two and to spend some time in studying the habits, customs, traditions, and civilization of Indians as a prerequisite to entering upon their administrative duties. For this reason, he established the College of Fort William in Bengal "for the instruction of civil servants in eastern literature and general learning."<sup>3</sup> It was through the agency of the vice-Provost of the College of Fort William, the Reverend Claudius Buchanan, that Marshman commenced his work in Chinese.

Lord Wellesley's appointees to the positions of Provost and vice-Provost of the College of Fort William, the Reverend David Brown and the Reverend Claudius Buchanan, were both chaplains of the East India Company. Buchanan, furthermore, had received his appointment<sup>4</sup> through the influence of Charles Grant, the foremost advocate of English language education for Indians and freedom for missionaries to propagate the Christian gospel in India. Both men were themselves strong evangelicals and both used their positions in the College to render the Company's restrictions on missionary labors in India inoperative and ineffectual. It was Buchanan who drew up the *Minute* that presently became Wellesley's *Dispatch to the Court of Directors* in

3 Hugh Pearson *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Reverend Claudius Buchanan*, (Letter, Buchanan to Charles Grant, June, 1800), 144.

4 Pearson, *op. cit.*, 103. (Letters: Milner to Grant and Porteus to Grant, March 8 and March 12, 1896.

justification of the creation of the College of Fort William.<sup>5</sup> It was also Buchanan who hired the Reverend William Carey, head of the Baptist mission in Serampore, to teach Bengali at the College, and it was Buchanan, finally, who wrote concerning the study of Chinese as follows:

“The means of obtaining a version of the Scriptures in the Chinese language occupied the minds of the Superintendents of the College of Fort William at an early period. It appeared an object of utmost importance to procure an *erudite Professor* who should undertake such a work, for, if but a single copy of the Scriptures could be introduced into China, they might be transcribed in almost every part of that immense Empire”<sup>6</sup>

Here it is evident we have the source of Marshman’s paragraph cited above, except that Buchanan is even more optimistic and sees an even more direct evangelical advantage arising from the introduction of just one single copy of a Chinese translation of the Bible into China. The political motive in undertaking the study of Chinese in Bengal was also apparent to Buchanan when he wrote further:

“Another object in view was to introduce some knowledge of the Chinese language among ourselves, for although the Chinese Forts on the Tibetan frontier overlook the Company’s territories in Bengal, there was not a person, it was said, in the Company’s service in India, who could read a common Chinese letter.”<sup>7</sup>

Buchanan’s motives for citing the proximity of Chinese forts—perhaps imaginary,—in Tibet to British holdings in Bengal may have reflected real concern on the part of the Wellesley government or, more probably, it represented a “telling argument” for home consumption favoring the inclusion of Chinese studies in the curriculum of the college.

## II

The Reverend Mr. Buchanan and his colleagues as noted above had early considered the need of hiring an erudite professor to teach Chinese at the College of Fort William. In China at this time, the Chia Ching Emperor sat on the dragon throne

5 Pearson, *op. cit.*, 144.

6 Claudius Buchanan *Christian Researches*, 9.

7 *Idem.*



in Peking. Christianity, Christian missions, opium importation, and the instruction of foreigners in the Chinese language were all under proscription. Hence, if no European could study Chinese in China, where could Buchanan go to find his erudite professor of Chinese? However, as was the case with opium prohibition, so it was with Chinese instruction. Prohibitive laws may not always prohibit. Hence we learn that an enterprising Armenian merchant named Lassar somehow employed two teachers to tutor his son, Johannes. One taught the boy "Chinese" at thirty dollars a month and the other the "Mandarine" language<sup>8</sup> at thirty-five dollars a month. This ignorance of the oneness of Chinese, despite differences in dialects, is in itself sufficient illustration of the mystery inherent in the whole project, and when our sources further relate in all seriousness that young Lassar dismissed his Chinese teacher in four days time, since that teacher compelled the young man to "commit to memory a vast number of characters, and left him to devise the meaning of them," we can only assume that the Lassar family, at least, firmly believed that Lassar's studies involved two separate and distinct languages. According to his own testimony, Lassar continued his studies of "Mandarine" so that by constant application "night and day" while still a youth, he had finished forty volumes.

It was the same Johannes Lassar who in 1804, while conducting a trade mission to Calcutta, chanced to contact Claudius Buchanan who presently offered him a post on the College of Fort William faculty. He was to be Professor of Chinese<sup>9</sup> and Buchanan's testimony leads one to suppose he was actually a member of the College faculty, but perusal of the faculty payroll of the College fails to reveal any salary payable to a Professor of Chinese. It is possible, of course, that Buchanan paid Lassar's salary for a year or two out of his own pocket, just to have him at the College, just as Buchanan personally subsidized several

8 *Baptist Periodical Accounts* III, 461-2, and Buchanan, *op. cit.*, 10.

9 *Idem.*

prizes payable to the winners of various essay and poetry contests which occurred at the "Annual Disputations" at the College. One such topic for "dispute" was sufficiently broad in scope to have included Chinese studies within its meaning, though no specific languages were therein mentioned. Buchanan worded this topic as follows:

"The duty, the means, and the consequences of translating the Scriptures into the Oriental tongues, and of promoting Christian knowledge in Asia, and, a brief historic view of the progress of the Gospel in different nations since its first promulgation; illustrated by maps, showing its luminous tract throughout the world; with chronological notices of its duration in particular places"<sup>10</sup>

Since one of these prizes financed by Buchanan amounted to as much as £100 and the total amount spent on prizes was nearly £1650, this suggests that Buchanan had done rather well in India after six years residence. Perhaps, under the circumstances, payment of a salary to an unofficial Professor of Chinese would also not have been beyond Buchanan's means. It is also possible that the official report of the College as submitted to the Court of Directors in 1805 omitted reference to any staff not actually on the official payroll in view of the demonstrated hostility of the Court to the College of Fort William.

Yet if the official connection of Johannes Lassar as Professor of Chinese at the College is in considerable doubt, there is no doubt that he taught Chinese in Bengal, whether it was in the College of Fort William or among the Baptists at Serampore. Indeed, Lord Minto, in making the Governor-General's annual address at the *Annual Disputations* in the year 1808, defined the position of Chinese studies with respect to the College when he said:

"I am in truth strongly inclined, whether regularly or not, to deal one encouraging word to the meritorious, and I hope not unsuccessful effort, making, I may say, at the door of the College, *though not admitted to its portico*, to force that hitherto impregnable fortress, the Chinese language. The means, we all know, that, in the present circumstances, can be employed in that difficult undertaking, are very inconsiderable. The honour is so much the greater to those, whose enterprize seems already to have

opened at least a prospect of success. Three young men, I ought, indeed, to say boys, have not only acquired a ready use of the Chinese language for the purpose of oral communication, which I understand, is neither difficult nor rare amongst Europeans connected with China; but they have achieved, in a degree worthy of admiration, that which has been deemed scarcely within reach of European faculties or industry; I mean a very extensive and correct acquaintance with the written language of China."<sup>11</sup>

The three "boys" who were Lassar's students in 1806 were Jabez Carey aged 15, John Clark Marshman aged 13, and Benjamin Wickes Marshman aged 8.<sup>12</sup> It is clear that the elder Marshman also attended this class and was sufficiently proficient after one year's study to have translated the New Testament into Chinese as far as the tenth chapter of the Gospel according to St. John.<sup>13</sup> The notation "printing not yet begun, but types are casting as fast as we can get them done," accompanied the Baptists' report of the progress of Mr. Lassar's tiny Chinese class toward placing a Chinese language Bible at the disposal of Chinese both at home and abroad. The first font of Chinese characters for printing this Bible consisted of tamarind wood blocks carved by unemployed Bengali calico print makers, thrown out of their regular employment owing to government discrimination in favor of British as opposed to Indian textiles. Only these Bengalis possessed the delicate skills required by the Baptists to reproduce upon wood the many complicated Chinese characters. By 1813, furthermore, the Baptists had manufactured and put into use a number of metal fonts in Chinese.

### III

The replacement of Lord Wellesley by Lord Minto in the office of Governor-General was, for the most part, dampening to missionary aspirations in India, but not to missionary work in

<sup>11</sup> Calcutta, College of Fort William. *Public Disputation of the Students before the Rt. Hon. Lord Minto...together with His Lordship's discourse*, 27 Feb. 1808, 32-34.

<sup>12</sup> *Baptist Periodical Accounts* I, 504; III, 461.

<sup>13</sup> *Baptist Periodical Accounts* IV, 52-54, and Cox, *Baptist Mission* I, 170.

Chinese studies. Quite early in his administration, Minto ordered two newly arrived English Baptist missionaries, Messrs. Robinson and Chater, who had come to Calcutta aboard the American ship, Benjamin Franklin, summarily deposed. On August 27, 1806, furthermore, Minto ordered William Carey to desist from addressing crowds of 400 to 600 Indians in Calcutta, commenting that "as the government did not interfere with the prejudices of the natives, it was his request that Carey and his colleagues should not." Minto further suppressed a newly published missionary tract called *The Rise of Wisdom*, and when the Baptists, shielded by the Reverend David Brown, ignored the Governor-General's preliminary warning, he then issued positive orders, as follows:

"The missionaries must not preach to the natives or allow their converts to preach; they are not to distribute pamphlets themselves, or permit others to circulate them, or in any way act in such manner as to inflame the natives of Bengal to become Christians."<sup>14</sup>

The cause of this severity in enforcing the Company's anti-missionary rule may have been the instructions received by Lord Minto upon his appointment by the Court of Directors. More likely, the Vellore Mutiny of July 10, 1806 was the immediate cause. Yet even before the Vellore Mutiny, strong reactions against Buchanan's *Annual Disputations* topics had developed in educated Hindu and Muslim circles and also among some of the more experienced English civil servants of the Company.<sup>15</sup> So strong an outcry had assailed the ears of Lord Wellesley in 1803 against Buchanan's topic for that year that Wellesley was obliged to order it withdrawn. It read as follows:

"The advantage which the natives of the country might derive from translations in the vernacular tongues of books

14 *Baptist Periodical Accounts*, III, 276; Cox, *op. cit.*, I, 156; J. C. Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman, and Ward*, I, 256-61, 270-82.

15 Pearson, *op. cit.*, 213-14. Letter: Buchanan to Major Sandys, Feb. 1801,

continuing the principles of their respective religions, and those of the Christian faith."<sup>16</sup>

This opposition to Buchanan's administration of the College grew greater and gathered force with the years. After Buchanan's ouster in 1806, and perhaps because of the brief reversal of evangelical fervor in England following the Vellore Mutiny, certain of the Company's retired civil and military servants published books and pamphlets opposing further missionary work in India. In 1807, Mr. Twining published *A Letter to the Chairman of the East India Company on the Danger of interfering in the Religious Opinions of the Natives of India...* In 1808, Major Scott-Waring published a *Vindication of the Hindoos from the Aspersions of Claudius Buchanan*. Actually, Buchanan wrote his own *Christian Researches*, published in 1811, in reply to these charges against him and his policies levelled by "the old civil servants."

Yet, while driving the Baptist missionaries to cover in Serampore, Lord Minto maintained the government's friendly attitude toward Messrs. Lassar and Marshman so far as their work in Chinese was concerned, even though that work was also evangelical in nature. In his annual speech in 1808 at the College of Fort William exercises, he went out of his way to personally commend Mr. Lassar.

#### IV

Beginning in 1809 and continuing until he had published his complete Chinese Bible in 1823, Marshman put out publication after publication in furtherance of Chinese learning. First

"I must not omit to commend the zealous and persevering labours of Mr. Lassar, and of those learned and pious men associated with him, who have accomplished for the future benefit, we may hope, of that immense and populous region, Chinese versions in the Chinese character of all the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, throwing open that precious mine, with all its religious and moral treasures, to the largest associated population in the world."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 249.    <sup>17</sup> Calcutta, College of Fort William, *op. cit.*, 34.

he published a Chinese text and English translation of his *Lungnee*<sup>18</sup> (Lun Yü), the *Analects of Confucius*. This book he dedicated to Lord Minto, leaving the impression that he had received moral support and handsome financial assistance from His Lordship to assist his labors. Further, in his preface to the *Lungnee*, Marshman included two remarks which suggest political as well as evangelical awareness on the part of the translator. He stated that "*the interests of the English nation, no less than its literary honor*" demanded British study of Chinese, and in the other, he noted that "the French had already made great strides" in Chinese study.<sup>19</sup> Since 1809 was a highly critical year in the wars against Napoleon, Marshman's comment about French progress in Chinese must have carried the same meaning to Englishmen that reference in 1958 to Russian Sputniks carry to Americans. In any case, the meaning of Marshman's literary and linguistic triumph was not lost upon Lord Minto, who in 1810, again in his annual address to the College, expressed positive appreciation of Marshman's translation and warmly commended the translator. He further went so far as to say that if there were only funds at hand, he, for one, would like to see the establishment of a school of Chinese studies in Bengal.

"What Mr. Marshman has already accomplished, both in his tuition of his young but distinguished pupils, and in works, the product of self instruction, would have done honour to institutions fostered by all the aids of munificence and power; to have risen in the shade, *ipse suis pollens opibus*, renders his successful labours only the more worthy of admiration."<sup>20</sup>

The actual merits of Marshman's *Lun Yü*, I leave to the sinologues to ascertain. S. Wells-Williams found it of sufficient merit to quote extensively from it in his *Middle Kingdom*. On the other hand, an anonymous commentator was less happy in his estimate.

18 John Marshman, *The Works of Confucius*, preface. 19 *Idem*.

20 Calcutta, College of Fort William, *Public Disputation of the students of the College of Fort William in Bengal before the Rt. Hon. Lord Minto...together with His Lordship's Discourse*, 15th Sept. 1810, 51,

"A translation of the *Lun Yü* was published by a gentleman in Bengal in 1809. This translation appears to have been made under very considerable disadvantages, and there is no doubt, but, were that gentleman to publish a second edition, very important alterations and improvements would be made; perhaps an entirely new version would be desirable."<sup>21</sup>

Marshman's next important Chinese publication, entitled *Clavis Sinica* emerged from the Serampore presses in 1813. This was the first Chinese grammar prepared for English speaking students. It also included commentaries on Chinese characters and on colloquial Chinese. Marshman also included an appendix and a rather inclusive vocabulary list. Again Lord Minto was most enthusiastic and in addition to a description of the *Clavis*, he remarked in 1813 at the *Annual Disputations*:

"The passages in Chinese characters contained in these works are printed from movable metal types, which Mr. Marshman and his coadjutors have had the merit of bringing, by most laudable ingenuity to a state of perfection, perhaps not known before.

"I profess a very sincere pleasure in bringing the literary merits of Mr. Marshman, and the other Reverend members of the Serampore Mission, to the notice of the public, and in bearing my testimony to the great and extraordinary labours, which constancy and energy in their numerous and various occupations have enabled this modest and respectable community to accomplish."<sup>22</sup>

Chinese studies in Bengal reached their apogée in 1813. After that year, owing to the termination of financial assistance, either unofficially from the Governor-General's private pocket or officially from the government, little more was accomplished except the completion of Marshman's Chinese Bible in 1823. The Serampore Press, however, published the *Chinese Grammar* of the Reverend Robert Morrison in 1814, a year after Marshman's *Clavis Sinica*. The reasons for the withdrawal of government assistance from the Baptist efforts after 1813 may have been twofold in nature. Lord Minto's personal interest in Marshman's work naturally ceased with Minto's replacement by

<sup>21</sup> *Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, 1822, 279.

<sup>22</sup> Calcutta, College of Fort William. *Public Disputations* etc., 20th Sept., 1813, 37.

Moir in 1813. On the other hand, Robert Morrison, who had gone to Canton in 1807 under the sponsorship of the London Missionary Society, had succeeded by 1814 in mastering Chinese and in publishing both a Chinese New Testament and a Chinese grammar. Inasmuch as Morrison was much nearer to the Chinese scene, either in Canton or Macao, or later Malacca than Marshman could be in Bengal, it is natural that the Company should have seen greater advantage in supporting Morrison. Indeed, Lord Moira in his first address at the Annual Disputations at the College of Fort William in 1814 while completely ignoring Marshman, yet felt called upon to comment as follows:

“A Chinese Grammar, by the Reverend Mr. Morrison, Chinese Secretary to the Honourable Company’s Supercargoes at Canton, has been published. The work is likely to prove one of the most valuable results of European application and ability which has yet opened a path to the acquirement of the difficult and almost unknown language of which it treats.”<sup>23</sup>

In 1816, therefore, it was Morrison, rather than one of the Serampore students of Chinese, who accompanied the ill fated Amherst mission to Peking as official interpreter. In 1818, furthermore, the Company under Morrison’s sponsorship subsidized the establishment of the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca and again in 1823, with financial assistance from the Company, transferred the site of this college to Singapore. Obviously, the political needs of the Company vis-a-vis China could be better served from either Malacca or Singapore than from Bengal, a fact which all the missionary zeal of the Baptists in Serampore could not overcome. Hence, after 1823, Chinese studies in Bengal became a thing of the past. Singapore could better supply the Chinese language needs of a government intent upon establishing regular diplomatic relations with the government of China—though, as it turned out, it was military force during the Opium War, rather than linguistic attainment that turned the trick.

ELMER H. CUTTS

<sup>23</sup> Calcutta, College of Fort William. *Public Disputations etc. before the Rt. Hon. Earl Moira...together with His Lordship’s Discourse*, 20th June, 1814, 46.



## The Indian Museum Inscription from Ratnagiri Orissa

In his 'Exploration in Orissa' (Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind. No. 44) Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda mentions a fragmentary inscribed stone from Ratnagiri which he regards as the earliest relic found in the western hill tracts of Cuttack District. He adds: 'Though the inscription on this slab has not yet been fully deciphered, it may be assigned to the 6th century A. D. on palaeographic grounds.'<sup>1</sup> The slab is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

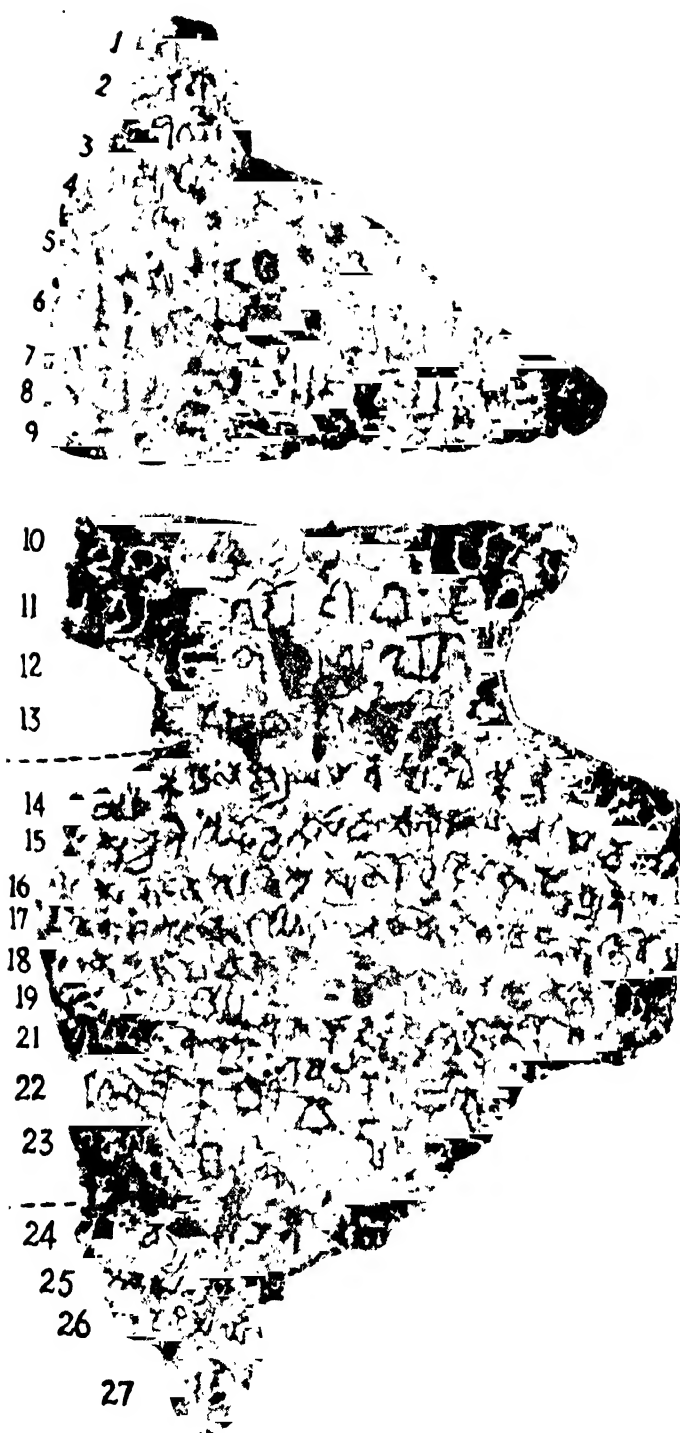
After return from my excavation of Ratnagiri earlier this year I examined all the Ratnagiri antiquities which are in the Indian Museum and could identify the inscription on the preserved parts of the slab as fragments of the famous *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra* with its *nirodha* portion.<sup>2</sup> As this text occurs only on a few inscriptions and as many persons may be interested in knowing the contents of the inscription in question, I give below its reading as far as can be made out.

The slab is now very irregular in shape, as large parts are broken off and its surfaces are flaked off at many places. The extant part, however is sufficient to show that the stone was oblong in shape with a thickness of  $4\frac{1}{4}$  inches. The breadth of

<sup>1</sup> P. 5, pl. II, fig. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from the other inscription mentioned below, this is, so far I am aware, the only inscription bearing this text till now discovered in Orissa. The other places in which this text has been found inscribed on a copper casket, bricks or copper-plate are Kurram (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, pt. I, Calcutta, 1929, p. 155) in North Western Frontier Province (Pakistan), Gopalpur (*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, July 1896, pp. 99 ff.; *JRAS.*, 1938, pp. 547 ff.) and Kasia (*ARASI.*, 1910-11, pp. 73 ff.) both in east Uttar Pradesh and Nalanda (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXI, pp. 193 ff. and vol. XXIV, 20 ff.) in Bihar. With the exception of the inscribed Kurram casket which is dated to A. D. 100, all belong to the Gupta age which shows that the text was in wide use in that age. All of these inscriptions are found deposited inside *stūpas*, the idea behind this was the acquisition of merit, as attested by the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing.

The Indian Museum Inscription from Ratnagiri





the slab is 8¾ inches, its original length cannot be determined due to its missing left portion. The inscription began on one of the flat surfaces and was continued on the adjacent bottom side, where the letters are much larger than elsewhere, and thence to the flat surface of the reverse to be concluded on the bottom side of the reverse. The left edge of the slab is completely gone, but the right one with a few letters in three lines is partly preserved. From the fact that three letters of the second line read *shāñca yo* it is clear that this part of the inscription contained the Buddhist creed. It may be added that another inscription containing the same text, found in my excavation at Ratnagiri, similarly ends with this creed.

As stated by Chanda the inscription is written in Gupta characters. The lines run irregularly and the letters, apart from their bad state of preservation, were not carefully engraved, their sizes being most un-uniform. The language is Sanskrit.

*Text<sup>1</sup>*  
*Obverse*

1. ... bha(?) ...
2. ... na(?) bha ...
3. ... dēśayi ...
4. ... shishyē dha ...
5. ... utpa ...
6. ... skārāḥ saṁskāra ...
7. ... pañ nāmarūpa-pratya ...
8. na-pratyayāḥ sparśāḥ sparśa-pratya<sup>2</sup>
9. ... ..

*Bottom side, obverse*

10. ... tṛṣṇā-pratyayam = upādāna ..
11. ... pratyayō bhavaḥ bhava ...
12. ... jāti-pra<sup>3</sup>tyayā ...
13. ... va-duḥkha-dau[rma<sup>\*4</sup>]ṇas ...

1 From the original stone and its impression.

2 Partly lost.

3 Partly lost.

4 Damaged,

*Reverse*

14. ... sya kēvalasya mahatō duḥkha-skandhasya samu  
 15. ... yam<sup>1</sup> = ucc(cy)ate dharmamāṇām = ācayaḥ [11\*]  
 dharmamāṇām = apacaya  
 16. ... smi<sup>2</sup>n = sat = idaṁ na bhavaty = asya nirōdhād  
 = idaṁ nirudhyatē ya<sup>3</sup>  
 17. ... nirōdhaḥ saṁskāra-nirōdhād = vijñāna-nirōdhaḥ  
 vijñāna-nirō  
 18. ... dha[h\*] nāma-rupō(a)-nirōdhāt = śaḍ-āya-tana-  
 nirōdha  
 19. ... rśa(?)-nirōdha[h\*] spa(?)rśa-nirōdhād = vēdanā-  
 nirōdhaḥ  
 20<sup>4</sup>. ... vē(?)da(?)nā-nirō ...  
 21. ... d-upādāna-nirōdhaḥ bhava-nirōdhāj = jāti ni ...  
 22. ... raṇa-śōka-pari[dē\*]va-duḥkha ..  
 23. ... ya(?)sā[h\*] ni[ru\*]dhyantē

*Bottom side, reverse*

24. ... lasya mahatō duḥ ...  
 25. ... ṇām = apacaya ...  
 26. ... iti mē ya ...  
 27. ... tō ...

DEBALA MITRA

1 Partly preserved.

2 Partly preserved.

3 Partly preserved.

4 This is not a regular line. It seems that the letters were inserted in the vacant space between lines 19 and 21 when the omission was detected.

## MISCELLANY

### A new Kadamba Family\*

In the ancient and mediaeval periods of its history, Karnāṭaka was ruled by a large number of imperial dynasties and feudatory royal families. More prominent among the latter were the Śilāhāras, the Sindas and the Kadambas. Each one of these had branched off into several smaller houses, whose members held sway in many parts of the country. It has been shown by me elsewhere that over and above the three well-known families of the Śilāhāras noticed by Fleet, there were no less than seven other branches of the same stock ruling in the areas of the Sholapur, Gulbarga, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kurnool Districts.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the Sindas ruled in parts of Āndhra, Madhya Pradesh and Mysore State. Besides the early stock of the Kadambas, there flourished in the mediaeval centuries a good number of families of the same lineage, which are already known to the students of history.<sup>2</sup>

In my epigraphic explorations of the Kannaḍa areas of the former Hyderabad State now merged in Mysore, I came across some new families of subordinate chiefs, that held sway in that region. One such was the Bāṇa family of Khāṇḍavamaṇḍala.<sup>3</sup>

Recently in 1954, I found a few inscriptions that reveal for the first time the existence in the Raichur area of a hitherto unknown family or families of the Kadamba stock. This is an interesting and important discovery, since the members of the Kadamba house were never known before to have penetrated so far in the north.

\*This paper was contributed to the History Section of the All-India Oriental Conference, 1957.

1 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 65 ff.

2 George M. Moraes has given sketches of many a family of the Kadamba origin in his *Kadamba Kula* (Bombay, 1931).

3 Vide my paper in *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XXI, Parts 1-4, pp. 98 ff.

These chiefs are introduced with the familiar title *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* testifying to their feudatory status. They also bore the specific titles, *Vanavāsipuravarēśvara* and *Kadambarābharāṇa* which disclose their descent in the Kadamba lineage. Three more epithets which, while distinguishing them from other branches of the house reflect their regional affinity, are *Toṛedadiya-Bhīma* (the Bhīma on the bank of the River, which is Kṛṣṇā), *Navileya-Pārtha* (the Arjuna of Navile, which is modern Navli) and *Manneya-godati* (Axe to the rival feudal chiefs).

The earliest chief of this Kadamba house, known at present is Nāgavarmarasa,<sup>4</sup> for whom we have two dates: 1066 and 1077 A.D. Next comes Būtarasa figuring in two records of 1113 and 1119 A.D. He is followed by Mādhavattiyarasa with dates in 1125 and 1135 A.D. The above facts are gathered from the study of an inscription in the Hyderabad Museum, another at Lingsgur and two more at Navli referred to above.

There are two more inscriptions containing information about the members of a family of the Kadamba stock, whose precise relation with the foregoing chiefs is not clear. But as the three characteristic epithets of the latter, described above, are also borne by the former, it may be concluded that both of them belonged to one and the same branch. These epigraphs hail from the villages of Karaḍkal and Mudgal, both in the Lingsgur Taluk.

The record at Karaḍkal belongs to the reign of the Yādava king Bhīllama and is dated in 1191 A.D. The genealogy of the Kadamba chiefs as given herein is as follows :

Bajja I  
|  
Kāca I  
|  
Bajja II, m. Bācaladēvi  
|  
Kāca II, m. Sejjaladēvi  
|  
Bajja III, m. Hollādēvi

4 It may be noted that the name Nāgavarma is found among the early members of the Hāngal and Goa branches of the Kadamba family.

The Mudgal inscription is of the reign of Yādava Siṅghaṇa, dated in 1215 A.D. It mentions only the last three names of the above list, viz. Bajja II, Kāca II and Bajja III. It is known from these two records that, on the dates specified therein, i.e. 1191 and 1215 A.D., Bajja III was administering the tract of Karaḍikal Four Hundred from his headquarters at Mudugal or Muduṅgal which is modern Mudgal. The tract of Karaḍikal Four Hundred was evidently named after its chief town Karaḍikal which is modern Karaḍkal. This tract is stated to have been situated in Eḍedoṛe Nāḍu.

The name of the family is mentioned in both these records as Kaḍamba. This seems to be only a verbal variant of the more usual name Kadamba.<sup>5</sup>

P. B. DESAI

5 The variant form Kaḍamba is similarly met with in other records also, even with reference to the early Kadambas; see for instance, *Bombay Karnatak Inscriptions*, vol. I, Part II, No. 136, l. 6. The cerebral form Kaḍamba seems to represent the original Dravidian expression, which is Sanskritised into Kadamba. This may be compared with the name Kundakunda of the renowned Jaina teacher, which is a Sanskritised version of the Kannada Konda.kunda.



## An Ancient Sculpture of the Rādhā Maṇḍala

In a small village called Pātilpārā, not very far from Kalna in the Burdwan District there is an image of Hara-Gauri of exquisite workmanship.

The image is wrought in basalt stone, 36" high × 24" broad. Śiva is seated at ease on a stony cushion, supported on a high throne, along with Pārvaṭī. She rests on his lap, and the couple stare at each other with a gaze that is wistful but sublime. Śiva is clothed in a loin-cloth fastened by a thin jewelled string. His upper body is bare. The coiffure is high and neatly dressed. Jewelleries consist of pair of ear-rings, a well-designed necklace, an ornamental Brahmanical cord, bangles, and armlets. He is four-armed. In his upper right hand, he holds a trident. The upper left, supported on the shoulders of his consort, carries a rosary of beads. With his normal hands, he clasps his wife round the back and touches her chin. On his right shoulder is seen a cobra with its hood. To counteract any erotic suggestion, the *Ūrdhva-līṅga* is prominently shown.

Pārvaṭī is only two-armed. The right hand is thrown round Śiva's back. The other hand, with a noose, is hung at ease. Her hair is dressed nicely in a knot, and, she has ear-rings, necklace, armlets, bangles, waist-band, and anklets. She wears a glazed linen (*sāri*), that attempts to imitate, not without despair, the diaphanous drapery of the Gupta art.

The modelling of the forms is superb and graceful,—the delineation of details is often accurate. The pose is natural and dignified. The decoration is restrained.

The carriers of the deities, Śiva's bull and Pārvaṭī's lion, are seen below. They support the feet of their respective deities. The modelling, however, of these accompanying figures of the composition do not approach the delicacy of the main figures. Yet they have a pose and a vigour that are indeed remarkable. The difference in the treatment is perhaps designed to make the central figures more attractive.





The figures are carved in high relief. The back-slab is round at the top and is embellished by a slender border of lotus design.

The deep attention on the main figures, the vigorous modelling of the plastic forms, their dignity and grace, the restraint in decorative details are traits that relegate the specimen under review to the same category to which belong the images of Indrānī (No. 654) and Viṣṇu (No. 62) in the Varendra Research Museum of Rajshahi (East Pakistan) and Baghaura Viṣṇu image of the reign of Mahīpāla I. The image can thus be assigned to the last quarter of the tenth century A. D. or the beginning of the following.

So far as history is known, Bengal in those days was united politically, and, it is seen that she had also a trend and a tradition that were one in the domain of art.

NIRAD BANDHU SANYAL

## Two Short Notes on the Paramāras of Malwa

### I

#### *Upendra defeated (?) by the Raṣṭrakūṭa King Indra III*

A lot of controversy has cropped up round the verse No. 23 in the Bagumārā plates,<sup>1</sup> also called the Nauśari plates<sup>2</sup> of Indra III, issued on the day of his coronation in A. D. 915 (S 836). While eulogizing the victories effected by Indra III as Yuvarāja, the verse says: —

कृतगोवर्धनोद्धारं हेलोन्मूलितमेरुणा

उपेन्द्रमिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ।

According to Dr. A. S. Altekar, “the second quarter of this verse” contains the very important historical information, that “Indra III sacked Meru and conquered a king named Upendra who had annexed or relieved Govardhana”.<sup>3</sup> Further, he identifies this Upendra, with Upendra, the founder of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa and allots the period c. 900-925 A. D. for his reign.<sup>4</sup> Following Dr. Altekar, Dr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri disposes of the question of Upendra briefly by saying that “Upendra is beyond doubt the founder of the Paramāra line of Malwa”.<sup>5</sup>

But such a view creates many difficulties of which the most important is the chronological. Dr. Altekar and Dr. Nilakanta Sastri make Upendra the grandfather of Śīyaka II, but that is going against the evidence provided by the Udaipur *prāśasti* and the *Navasāhaśāṅkacarita*. The latter speaks of many rulers between Upendra and Vākpati I.<sup>6</sup> The Udaipur *prāśasti* completes the picture by putting Vairisimha I and

1 *El.*, vol. IX, pp. 24-41.

2 *IBBRAS.*, XVIII, pp. 254

3 A. S. Altekar, *Raṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 100

4 *Ibid.*, p. 101

5 *Dr. Lakshmana Swarup Commemoration Volume*, p. 297.

6 The statement is “*Tasmin-gate narendreṣu tadanyeṣu gateṣu ca*”. *IA.*, XXXVI p. 163.

Siyaka I between Upendra and Vākpati I.<sup>7</sup> Thus Upendra is sixth in the lineal ascent from Siyaka II, for whom we have the dates, V. S. 1005,<sup>8</sup> V. S. 1026,<sup>9</sup> V. S. 1029.<sup>10</sup> Upendra could therefore have flourished only a little after 800 A. D. or so, a view now accepted by almost all the writers of the history of Malwa.<sup>11</sup> This being the actual case, Upendra the Paramāra ruler, cannot obviously be the Upendra supposed to have been defeated by Indra III who flourished in the first quarter of the 10th century A. D.

We may remark also that in the verse, Upendra is spoken of in connection with Govardhana and not Malwa. We are not even sure whether Upendra, the Paramāra, was at any time important enough to be mentioned as Indra's adversary. The Udaipur *praśasti* simply tells us that "his fame was proclaimed by the immortals" and that "he gained high honour of kingship,<sup>12</sup> by his own valour".<sup>13</sup> This may mean nothing more than that he had been given the rank of a feudatory chief by some strong ruler, either a Pratihāra or a Rāṣṭrakūṭa.

The only reason for seeing a reference in the verse to Upendra of Malwa is perhaps Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's note: "there can hardly be a doubt that this verse is intended to yield two meanings, one mythological and the other historical. The first is clear, but the historical sense is by no means evident."<sup>14</sup> Actually however, both the meanings are quite clear and there is no ambiguity whatsoever. The mythological reference is to the lifting up of Govardhana by Upendra (Kṛṣṇa), and the historical reference is to Indra III's uprooting of the

7 *El.*, vol. I. pp. 233-238.

8 Harsola grant, *El.*, XIX p. 236

9 Ahmedabad grant *El.*, XIX p. 177

10 Dhanapāla's *Pāialacchi-nāmamāla* v. 198

11 Bühler, D. C. Ganguli, H. C. Ray, K. M. Munshi, L. D. Barnett, Luard & Lele, Dr. D. Sharma etc.

12 'Knighthood' according to Bühler.

13 *El.*, vol. I, pp. 233-238, v. 7

14 *El.*, vol. IX pp. 24-41.

Bāṇa ruler Meru<sup>15</sup>. The Upendra in the verse does not stand for any historic person; it merely means Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu, who under the name Upendra became the younger brother of Indra in Vamanāvatāra. So the verse simply says that Indra III has surpassed Upendra (i.e. Kṛṣṇa) in bravery. While that Upendra (Kṛṣṇa) simply lifted up Govardhana, this Indra III uprooted the Bāṇa ruler Vikramāditya Jayameru with ease.

## II

### *The wrong identification of Utpalarāja with Utpala-Vākpati (II) Muñja*

The similarity and variety of names and titles of the ancient Indian rulers have made some of the obscure problems of our history extremely confusing. Our present problem shares the same fate.

Vākpati II, the Paramāra ruler of Malwa, appears to have been known to his contemporaries by many names. One of these "Utpalarāja" is supplied by the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* of Padmagupta<sup>17</sup>, the court poet of Vākpati II. That he was known by this name can be inferred also from a verse, the authorship of which is ascribed to "Utpalarāja" by the Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra and to 'Vākpatirāja' by Vallabhadeva<sup>18</sup>. The fact is further corroborated by the Kauthem grant of Vikramāditya V of Kalyāṇī in which Muñja is called Utpala.<sup>19</sup>

15 Meru, formerly supposed to be a place-name by Kielhorn and Altekar, has now been satisfactorily identified with Vikramāditya Jayameru, the ruler of Bāṇa and Vaidumba territory by K. A. Nilkanta Sastri, in his paper "The Achievements of Rāṣtrakūṭa Indra III as Yuvarāja".

16 For the translation of the verse see *JBBRAS.*, XVIII., p. 254.

17 *Id.*, XXXVI p. 163

18 D.C. Ganguly: *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 47

19 *Id.*, vol XVI, p. 113. While describing the various feats of Taila II, it says "by whom (i.e. Tailapa) Utpala who had destroyed the lives of the Huṇas and had caused the Māravas to tremble at his approach and had cut off the Caidyas and had perfected his intellect by policy combined with conquest of the whole world" etc. (V. 42)

The inscriptions of the Ābū Paramāras inform us that the founder of this line was one Utpalarāja<sup>20</sup>. Is he identical with Utpala Muñja of Malwa? Dr. D. C. Ganguli, thinking that he is, has built up the ingenuous theory that Vākpati II was the first to lead his army in the neighbourhood of Mount Ābū. During the course of his military excursions in this area, he is believed to have conquered Mount Ābū and appointed his son Aranyarāja to look after the administration of the province of Ābū (Arbundamaṇḍala)<sup>21</sup>. The view has been accepted without further examination by Dr. H. C. Roy<sup>22</sup> and Shri K. M. Munshi<sup>23</sup>. We propose to show here that the view is not very well founded.

According to an unpublished grant of the Paramāra rulers of Ābū<sup>24</sup>, Mahipāla was the sixth<sup>25</sup> ruler of Abu line. That he was on the Paramāra throne in V. S. 1059 (A. D. 1002) is known from another inscription which has not yet been published<sup>26</sup>. For Muñja Vākpati II we have the dates V. S. 1031<sup>27</sup> and 1036<sup>28</sup> supplied to us by his land-grants. He was still on the throne, when Amitagati completed his "Subhāṣitaratna Saṁdoha" in V. S. 1050. So either Mahipāla himself or his predecessor (i.e. Dharaṇivarāha), who is known to have been deprived of his kingdom by Muñja's rival Mūlarāja the Caulukya,<sup>29</sup> may have

20 Vasantagarh Ins. of Pūrṇapāla, V.S. 1099, *El.*, IX, pp. 10-15

An unpublished ins. of a Paramāra king of Abu, *Ann. Rep. Rajputana Museum*, 1932, p. 2-3.

21 D. C. Ganguly: *History of the Paramāra dynasty*, p. 22

22 *DHNI*, vol. II, p. 854, 909

23 *The Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, vol. III, p. 113.

24 *Ann. Rep. Rajputana Museum*, 1932, p. 2-3.

25 Fifth according to Dr. Ojha. But an examination of the original grant now being edited by Sadhuram has convinced me that actually he was the sixth.

26 G. H. Ojha: *Rājputānē-kā-litihās*, p. 193.

27 *IA.*, VI p. 51

28 *IA.*, XIV p. 160

29 Dhavala's Ins. vv. 9-10, *El.*, vol. X, p. 20



been a contemporary of Vākpati II.<sup>30</sup> There is obviously no possibility of Muñja being identical with the Ābū Paramāra ruler Utpalarāja, who being fifth in the lineal ascent from Mahipāla, must have flourished about V.S. 934 or so.

For the very same reason we have naturally to reject Dr. Ganguli's view that Aranyarāja was a son of Vākpati II, stationed at Abu after its conquest by the Paramāras of Malwa.<sup>31</sup> Actually all the evidence that we have shown that the Paramāras originally ruled over the territory around Ābū from where they later migrated to Malwa and other places.<sup>32</sup> We must also remember the fact that neither inscriptions nor tradition tell us of any son of Muñja Vākpati. Most probably he died without any issue and was therefore succeeded by his younger brother Sindhurāja and then by his nephew Bhoja.<sup>33</sup>

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30 The possibility of Muñja being a contemporary of Mahipāla is not ruled out. V. S. 1050, though the *last known* date of Vākpati, need not be his last date. On the other hand V. S. 1059, the *first known date* of Mahipāla was perhaps not the first year of Mahipāla's reign; he might have come to the throne a few years earlier. And even if he (Muñja Utpala) be not Mahipāla's contemporary, his reign certainly cannot be earlier than that of Mahipāla's predecessor, i.e. Dharaṇivarāha, who as noted in the text was an enemy of Muñja's rival Mūlarāja the Caulukya.

31 In fact, Aranyarāja flourished two generations before Vākpati II himself, the latter's contemporary being Aranyarāja's grandson (Dharaṇivarāha) or perhaps great-grandson (i.e. Mahipāla)

32 G. H. Ojha, *Rājputānē-kā-litihās*—vol. 1, p. 191; *Muhṇōt-Nainsiki-khyāt*, vol. 1, p. 234.

33 According to Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (p. 36). Bhoja was the immediate successor of Vākpati. According to *Tilakamañjari*, Muñja Vākpati was so fond of Bhoja that he had him annointed as his Yuvarāja. That actually Muñja was succeeded by Sindhurāja is warranted by the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*. If Vākpati II had any son, we should have found some reference to him, if not in the inscriptions of the main line then in the *Prabandhas* at least.

A Note  
Concerning Vajradharma-Lokeśvara

It is with great interest that we have read Mrs. Debala Mitra's paper on "A rare type of Bodhisattva Images from Sanchi".<sup>1</sup> The author identifies two stele of the Sāñcī Museum and two others of the Indian Museum in Calcutta with representations of a type of Avalokiteśvara described as Vajradharma-Lokeśvara in the *Sādhnamālā*.<sup>2</sup>

Yet we should like to point out here that we had already put forward that very identification for the stele no. 3784 of the Indian Museum<sup>3</sup>—the same one reproduced by Mrs. Debala Mitra on plate III,—in our work *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara*<sup>4</sup> published in Paris in 1948 (pp. 197-200 and plate XVI). We based our opinion on the same passage of the *Sādhnamālā*, translated by us under Mr. Louis Renou's guidance.<sup>5</sup>

We know well how difficult are the scientific intercourses between the East and the West, especially when books or papers are published in different languages. However, it seems fair from the scientific point of view to recall our already ten year old work, and this all the more so as, by different methods and means, Mrs. Debala Mitra's inference corroborates our own conclusions.

Marie-Thérèse de MALLMANN

1 *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXXII, 2-3 (July-September 1956, pp. 286-9, 4 pl.

2 *Sādhnamālā*, ed. by B. Bhattacharyya, vol. I (Baroda 1925), no. 10, p. 33.

3 Already reproduced in R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, pl. IX a, with the identification "Vajrapāṇi".

4 Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara*, foreword by Paul Mus, drawings by Jeannine Auboyer; Paris, Civilisations du Sud, 1948 (350 pp., XXXII plates).

5 Mallmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-6, 197-8.

## Select Contents of Oriental Journals

**Brahmavidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin.**

Vol. XXI, pts. 3-4, (Dec., '57)

GEORGE T. ARTOLA—*Pañcatantra Manuscripts from South India*. The author gives a checklist of the manuscript materials found in the specialised libraries of South India. The 1st section of the list comprises 89 MSS. of the Sanskrit texts of the southern *Pañcatantra* of Viṣṇuśarman whereas the 2nd section is devoted to the descriptions of 17 MSS. of the Hitopadeśa of Nārāyaṇa. The bibliographical details of the MS. of Tantropākhyāna of Vasubhāga are given in the 3rd section followed by descriptions of the Kannaḍa MSS. from South India containing the text of the *Pañcatantra* of Durgasiṃha. The framework of the latter resembles in general outline the version of Viṣṇuśarman more than that of Vasubhāga. In details of story-content, however, it approaches more closely the Tantropākhyāna.

R. G. HARSHE—*A New Interpretation of the Word Apsaras*. Drawing upon the evidence of painted potteries of Pre-historic Egypt the present scholar takes the word *apsaras* to be the combination of *ab* 'to dance' (Egyptian) and *ṣṛ* 'to move' (Skt.), and thus meaning 'to move about in a dancing manner'. These Apsarases are the dancing girls imported from Egypt into the Aryan settlement in the Middle East Eurasia. Thus *Uruaśi* is taken to be the inhabitant of the city of Ur.

K. KUNJUNNI RAJA—*Ākāṅkṣā: The Main Basis of Syntactic Unity*.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI—*Kālī Worship in Bengal*. This paper gives a survey of the worship of different forms of Goddess Kālī in Bengal—they are six in number. Kālī in her terrible form has been mentioned in Kinsariya stone inscription of Cacca dated A.D. 999. Three days for special

worship are referred to: the Diwali day, the Raṭantī Caturdaśī day (14th day of the dark fortnight of Māgha), and the 14th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Jyaiṣṭha.

G. N. SARMA—*A Note on Portfolio Files, Archive Office, Jodhpur*. This gives a selection of some interesting letters from the Portfolio Files (located in the Dastri section of the Archive Office, Jodhpur) to show their independent worth as source material. They are 31 in number consisting of original Kharitā-s (letters), rūkkās (drafts), ṭeharīr-s (notes) etc. helpful for the comparative study of dialects used in Rājasthan between 17th and 20th century A. D. as also for the history of the interstate relations of Rājasthan from about A.D. 1712-1947. The script used is mostly Mahājanī and in some cases Nāgarī.

V. RAGHAVAN—*The Sarva-Deva-Vilāsa*. This is the edited text (with brief notes) of the S. D. V. written in the form of a Campū poem, and describing Madras of about A. D. 1800, and the merchant-magnates of the city in the days of the East India Company. The MS. preserved in the Adyar Library is, however, incomplete.

**Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,  
University of London. Vol. XX, ('57)**

F. R. ALLCHIN—*Sanskrit Eḍūka—Pali Eluka*. The word first appears in Sanskrit in the Mahābhārata. The present author seeks to trace its origin in the Tamil, and regards it as the original loan which later became confused with another Tamil loan word *ēluka* 'threshold'. It may come from Dravidian *elu* 'bone', as derived by Kittel.

W. S. ALLEN—*Some Phonological Characteristics of Rājasthānī*. The study is on the synchronic phonology of the modern Rājasthānī dialects and it characterises the dialects distinctly one from another, and the group as a whole from the neighbouring languages.

H. W. BAILEY—*Dvārā Matinām*. Of special interest, in this paper, is the interpretation of the word *aghnyā* (generally meaning not to be killed) which is taken to refer to the animal

cow as being filled with milk: (OI *āhanas* from *ghan* 'be exuberant'. C/o. Armenian *Zand* and Zor. Pahlavi *Zandak* also R. V. I. 37. 5; III. 33. 13 [*aghnya*-wild, wanton], and I. 30. 19. [*aghnyasya mūrdhani* 'on the head of the wild one].

A. A. BAKE—*Bharata's Experiments with the Two Viṇās.*

A. L. BASHAM—*The Succession of the Line of Kaniska.* It is a review of the important data relating to the problem of the succession of the kings of Kaniska's dynasty. It is observed here that from the point of view of India the evidence favours 78 A. D. as the date of Kaniska's accession but from that of Central Asia they appear to support 144 A. D.

JOHN BROUGH—*Some Notes On Maitra-Kanyaka.* This is a discussion on the different versions of the story of Maitra-kanyaka in *Avadānaśataka*, *Divyāvadāna*, the *Avadānakalpataru* of Kṣemendra and the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna*. In the Pāli-Jātaka the name is found to be Mittavindaka, where as in *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* it is *Maitrāyajña*. The author suggests that this variation was current in the earliest phase: A detailed discussion, mainly philological, is given.

T. BURROW—*Sanskrit Gr/Gur —'To Welcome'.*

J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT—*Prohibition and Nullity: Indian Struggles With A Jurisprudential Lacuna.*

J. R. FIRTH—*Phonetic Observations on Gujarati.*

CHRISTOPH VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF—*The Interrelations of Castes and Ethnic Groups in Nepal.* The paper discusses at length the peculiar features of inter caste relations—tolerance of intercaste unions, multi-ethnic caste-society retaining the flexibility of permitting social inter-action between such distinct ethnic groups as the Chetris and Newars as also between Hindu caste and casteless populations as Tamangs and Sherpas. A continued recognition of the tribal principle has become another prominent feature.

J. GONDA—*Attraction and Co-ordination in the Veda.*

C. HOOPYKAAS—*On some Artbālāṅkāras in the Bhaṭṭikāvya.*

The purpose of the writer in this paper is to suggest that the Bhk. became the prototype of the Old-Javanese-Rāmāyaṇa and thus influenced the Old-Javanese literature.

ALFRED MASTER—*Some Mārāṭhī Inscriptions, A. D. 1060—1300*. This linguistic survey deals with the correct rendering of the readings of some inscriptions in their grammatical and phonological detail. Those included in the list are *Dīve Āgara Copperplate* (1060 A.D.), *Sravaṇa Beḷgoḷa Colossus* (1118 A.D.), *Āmlu Jogāi Stone* (1144 A.D.), *Rānjate Stone* (1148 A. D.) etc.

H. N. RANDLE—*The Patterns of the Triṣṭubh*.

LOUIS RENOU—*Etudes Védique* (Vedic Studies).

W. STEDE—*Āṅgulimāla and Liberation*.

R. O. WINSTEDT—*Sanskrit in Malay Literature*. Sanskrit loan-words far exceed Arabic in the Malay literature, thus showing the extent of influence of Hindu India over that country and its literature (excepting Muslim theology) during its thousand years of contact with India.

Ibid.—Vol XXI., pt I., ('58).

PADMANABH S. JAINI—*On the Theory of Two Vasubandhus*. The present scholar moots the views of Prof. E. Frauwallner that distinguish between two Vasubandhus, i.e. the elder Vasubandhu, the Mahāyānist, brother of Aśaṅga, and the author of Vijñānavāda works, and the younger Koṣakāra Vasubandhu. On the basis of the evidence from the *Abhidharma-dīpa* (together with a commentary the *Vibhāṣā-prabhā-Vṛtti*) the Scholar confirms Paramārtha's (the author of the "Life of Vasubandhu") account of the Koṣakāra Vasubandhu being converted to Mahāyāna. His relation to Aśaṅga remains unsettled.

N. A. JAIRAJBHROY—*Bharata's Concept of Sādhāraṇa*.

J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT—*Kuttā: A Class of Land-Tenures in South India*. Kuttā was a system of land-tenure current in Andhra-Orissa, the place from where came the Emperor Pratāpa Rudra Gajapati, the alleged writer of the gigantic

digest called *Sarasvatī-vilāsa* (A. D. 1500-25). In the *Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa* (Civil Law Section) of the treatise the author deals with the prohibition of the gift of *Sāmānyādi-dravya*, 'assets in which more than one person has an interest.'

**Bulletin of The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture**

Vol. IX., No. 2., (Feb. '58).

THOMAS BURROW—*Sanskrit and The Pre-Aryan Tribes and Languages*. The Scholar assays to prove the Non-Aryan influence on the Indo-Aryan language. They include Dravidian words like *nīra*, *mīna*, *mukula*, *kuntala*, *tāmarasa*, *tāla*, *kānana*, as also Austro-Asiatic Kol or Muṇḍa languages. But the modern Indo-Aryan mostly preserve the words derived from the Indo-Aryan (such as *keś*, *Hāthi*, *Machli* in Hindi). Most of the Non-Aryan words remain unexplained. Some important observations are made on the Tribal movements: 'Pre-Aryan Tribes in Sanskrit literature', and 'Linguistic affiliations of the Tribes.'

**Indian Philosophy and Culture**

Vol. III, No. 1, (March, '58)

M. V. V. K. RANGACHARYA—*Sri Ramanuja and Vaishnavism* (v).

S. L. PANDA—*St. Ravidāsa, The Man and His Works*. Ravidāsa is said to have lived from 1450 to 1540 A. D.

**Journal Asiatique**

Vol. CCXLV, Fasc. 1 ('57)

J. FILLIOZAT—*Les Festivités du Dhamma chez Asoka* (Festivities of Dhamma during the Reign of Asoka).

**Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, (New Series.)**

Vol 30., pt. II, (55).

P. V. KANE—*The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja*. On the strength of the MS. from Nepal, the scholar shows that the verses quoted by Utpala (966 A.D.) in his commentary on *Bṛhat saṃhitā* in the name of Yavaneśvara occur in the said MS. of Sphujidhvaja's *Yavanajātaka*.

- P. C. DIVANJI—*The Māheśvara Cult and Its Offshoots*. It is a lengthy discussion on the origin, development, division, and the modern subjects of Śaivism. The early non-sectarian character later became sectarian Pāśupata Mātā of the old type. Lakuliśa introduced some extreme practices in the Yoga-vidhi and thus made its adherents form a different sect of the Śaivas, the Pāśupatas. Some of the rulers between 2nd and 4th cent. A.D. were counted as its followers. In the 5th cent A.D. Kaundinya-Rāsikara interpreted the Pāśupata-sūtra liberally, and some time later the non-Brahmans got entry into the fold being allowed to worship the Śivalingas only. The modern Śaivaites are divided into mutually exclusive groups.
- N. G. CHAPEKAR—*Dāsa and Dasyus*. They are identified and are proved to be clouds or darkness personified (Ref. Rv. VIII. 100. 12, II 20. 8; I. 58. 11; I. 54. 5; II. 12. 3; III. 32. 6. etc.)
- VINCENC PORIZKA—*A Glance at Indian Studies in Czechoslovakia*.
- N. A. GORE—*The Jātimālā of Somanātha*. Edited for the first time by the author Jātimālā is the poetical work of Somanātha, the famous authority on Karnataka music. The poet has been assigned a period between the last quarter of the 16th and 2nd quarter of 17th cent A.D. Details about the poet's work and life are given.
- D. D. KOSAMBI—*Dhenukākāṭa*. The main purpose of this paper is to give the text and translation of all known inscriptions from the caves, dated on palaeographic grounds, between 150 B.C. and 150 A.D. at Śetarvādī, Beḍṣā, Bhājā, Kārle. Situated near the trade-routes, the cave monasteries, with their increasing concentration of wealth, must have been of considerable importance in the economic development of the Sātavāhana kingdom. The Dhenukākāṭans, are said to be constituting the settlement of wealthy merchants believed to be of Greek origin and bearing Indian or Indianised names.



R. C. AGRAWALA—“*Two Spurious Inscriptions of Mahārānā Pratāpa of Udaipur.*

**Journal of the Department of Letters (New Series), C.U.**

Vol I, ('57)

AJIT RANJAN BHATTACHARYA—*Some Aspects of the two Main Schools of Chinese Philosophy and their Indian Counterparts.* A description of the Confucian and Taoist schools of Chinese philosophy and the conformity of thought between these two schools and the Upaniṣadic thought is given here.

SUDHIR RANJAN DAS—*Folk Ritual Drawing of Bengal—A Study in Origin.* Folk ritual drawing which is called *ālīpana* or *ālīpanā* (fr. Skt. *ālepana* or *ālīmpana*), meaning smearing liquid drawing, is now generally used in the sense of any ‘decorative design drawn with rice-paste diluted in water on all socio-religious occasions.’ The present scholar deals with its background, origin, the significance of the ingredients used, techniques, motif, methods, designs, and their significance. The different colours used represent different regions, spirits, abstract qualities, and above all a strong magical potency. The ‘basis of the magico-religious *ālīpanā*-paintings of Bengal’, observes the scholar, ‘has been laid by the Austric-speakers or the Veddid-Australoids.’ Some representative plates are inserted.

TAPO NATH CHAKRAVARTI—*Some Aspects of Religious life as Depicted in early Inscriptions and Literature of Bengal.* It is a lengthy account of the religious beliefs and practices, occult esoteric ideas, auspicious folk-rites and popular religious institutions, diverse cults and ethical conventions which were prevalent in ancient Bengal and Assam with the help of the informations supplied by the early inscriptions of Bengal scattered over a period of roughly eight hundred years in between 4th cent. A.D. and 1200 A.D. To mention one instance the inscriptions of the 5th, 6th and 7th cent. A.D. demonstrate the influx in Bengal of Vedic culture and civilisation.

M. L. RAYCHAUDHURY—*The God and Cult of Somnath.* The

scholar observes that the Somaniya cult (As-somantiya as described by Al-Beruni) of the Somnath temple had its origin in India in the worship of Soma or Moon; then, it expanded by incorporating the God Siva in the epic age; in the Buddhist age the Somaniya compromised with Hindu cult and Siva was worshipped in Buddhist temples. The fire worshipper Iranians found it congenial to them, and because of its eclectic philosophy which could find some common basis in the unorthodox Islamic cult of the contemporary age, the Muslim found it congenial.

ATUL CHANDRA ROY—*The Mughal Navy and Its Weakness.*

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI—*History of Mewar from the Earliest Times to 1303 A.D.* This monograph deals with the history of the principality of Mewar upto the time when the famous fortress of Chitor fell before the onslaught of Ala-uddin Khalji. The institutional history has been touched upon briefly.

**Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute**

Vol XIV, pts. 1-4, (Nov., '56-Aug, '57)

P. C. DIVANJI—*Teaching of the Brahma vidyā in the Muṇḍako-pañisad.* According to the present scholar the teaching of the M. Up. was formulated earlier than that of the Sārīraka Sūtra. It was not necessary during those periods, as found in the M. Up. and Kaṭha Up. combined, for an aspirant for self-realisation to purge his mind of all kinds of longings.

DASHARATHA SHARMA—*The date of Śyāmilaka's Pādatāḍitaka: About 500 A.D.* Here the view of Prof. T. Burrow that Śyāmilaka's Pādatāḍitaka, a *bhāṇa* throwing light on the social and cultural conditions of the period when it was composed, was written in the early part of the 5th cent. A.D., has been mooted and the date 500 A.D. given to it on the ground that the deposition of Indradatta of Koṅkaṇa and Maghavarman and the extensive conquests of Mahā-pratihāra Bhadrāyudha (who are said to have been mentioned in the said works) would not have been possible before that time. Other arguments are also advanced.

- P. N. MODI—*Bādarāyaṇa and Saṅkara : A Fresh Study.*
- P. S. SASTRI—*The R̥gvedic Principles of Literary Criticism.*
- R. C. AGRAWALA—*Some Viṣṇu Sculptures From Mārṇā.* The writer gives the description of different Viṣṇu sculptures from the earliest period of the Gupta art to the mediaeval period.
- MANORANJAN SHASTRI—*Nilāmbarācārya.* Nilāmbarācārya, an eminent digest writer on Dharmaśāstra in ancient Kāmarūpa, is said to be the author of *Śrāddhaprakāśa* or *Śrāddhabhāṣya* and the *Kālakaumudī*, both found in manuscript only. In this brief account of the author and his works, he has been placed between the period of 1245 and 1280 A.D.
- H. VEDANTASASTRI—*Viṣa-kanyā or Poison-Girl—An Instrument of Political Murder.* The scholar points out five probable alternatives and prefers the view that the Viṣakanyā was a Javanese poisonous girl used as a weapon of political murder. It might also be that it was a girl with one of her ornaments stuffed with poison.
- KADHA KRISHNA CHOUDHARY—*Gāṅgeyadeva of Tīrabhukti.* The present writer opposes the theory of MM. V. V. Mirashi that Gāṅgeyadeva of Tīrabhukti was probably the king of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty and agrees with Dr. R. C. Majumdar in dating him back to 1154 A.D. and identifying him with Gāṅgeyadeva Karṇāṭa of Tīrabhukti.

## The Vaitānasūtra\*

### V

1. Now the ignition of the fire (the establishment of the sacrificial fire necessary for Vedic rituals).

2. For the brahmin it takes place in the spring, for a Kṣatriya in the summer, for a Vaiśya in the rainy season. The statement (of the Kauś. sūtra 64-7 namely) "There are three periods" is true in this case too.

3. He may kindle the fire, if he must, only the faith should not desert him.<sup>1</sup>

4. The Brahmaudana has been described.

5-6. He (the sacrificer) causes the sacrificial priests to sit for it or he presents the Brahmaudana, which he has consecrated before (upon which he has pronounced the aphorisms before.)<sup>2</sup>

7. Born in the Śamī—there stands yonder the Aśvattha,—which grew along with you. I bring it (the Aśvattha) for you (the fire) with holy aphorisms and sacrificial flames. Oh Jāta-vedas! pour down here the seed of the world, which would develop in contact with energy (Tapa), since from the Aśvattha, which has been born in the Śamī, you causing delight, create the fire, which conveys the consecrated food (to the gods); he (the Brahman) asks the sacrificer, who has got the privilege to ignite the fire, to pronounce these two stanzas, while he (the sacrificer) holds by his hand both the pieces of firewood of the kind, described in the mantra.<sup>3</sup>

\*Continued from *IHQ.*, vol. 34 No. 1 March, 1958, Supplement, page 14.

1 Caland suggests *tvevainam* for *nvevainam*.

2 Caland suggests *vā dadyāt* for *vā dadhyāt*.

3 Caland in his translation construes the word *mayobbhūb* as an adjective of *agnim* and translates accordingly. "Indem du aus Śamī-verwachsenem Aśvattha das opferspeise führende Feuer erzeugst das wunderbare." It should be taken into consideration first that the word *mayobbhūb* is not an adjective of *agnim*, but of the immediately preceding

8. Reserving the speech (i. e. speaking nothing worldly) they (the sacrificer, his wife and the Brahman) pass the night or the second part of the night sleeplessly.

9. With the stanza: "Oh Bṛhaspati, Oh Savitṛ" (VII. 16) he (the sacrificer) awakens the sleeping.<sup>4</sup>

10. At the break of the dawn he (the Brahman) prepares the consecrated water with the help of *citi* and other herbs, (which are necessary for a holy performance and are enumerated in the Kauś. sūtra 8, 16) and also with the help of some other materials, namely *Kapu*, *Vaparvā*, *Radāka*, *Vṛkhāvatī*, *Nāḍā*, *Nirdabantī*, which are used in an unholy performance (i. e. sorcery), when (i. e. during the preparation of the consecrated water) the *Cātana*, *Mātr-nāman* and *Vāstoṣphatya* hymns are employed.

11-12. By this holy water he drenches the horse, which has got the fires as its feet and then sprinkles the same (water) upon it; thus he appeases it (i. e. extinguishes the fire). Now since even before the rise of the Sun or after its appearance he will kindle the fire, here should take place certain performances of which the first is the employing of the clod and the last the worship.<sup>5</sup>

13. According to my teacher the stanza: "What to you in anger" (XII. 2. 5) will be omitted here. For the Āhavanīya and the Dakṣiṇāgni fires (only) (performances) upto making their demarcations (are to be done).

14. When the Gārhapatya fire is kindled, he (the Brahman) recites both the stanzas: "Born from the clay you are the supporter of all, Oh Agni! the Atharvan has first generated you, who are the head of all the priests. The sage Dadhyañc, the son of Atharvan, also kindles you, who are the conqueror of the enemies and the destroyer of their cities. Pāthya Vṛṣan also  
yo. Secondly, the word *mayobbhūb* does not signify the sense of 'wonderful' but of 'delightful, causing pleasure'.

4 The expression *svapato* indicates that the other Ṛtviks are not to remain sleepless.

5 Caland translates the expression '*upasthāna*' as 'Anrede' instead of worship.

ignites you, the powerful, the slayer of the enemies and the winner of booties in the successive battles.”<sup>6</sup>

15. When the fire appears from the Araṇis he recites the stanza: “To the well-born Jātavedas” (IV. 23. 4).

16. He places a piece of gold between him and the fire and inhales by the breath of the nose or the mouth the fire (i. e. its smoke) after he has recited the stanza: “In me at first” (VII. 82. 2).<sup>7</sup>

17. When the Adhvaryu makes the horse set its feet upon the lines of the Āhavanīya-fire, he (the Brahman) utters (over the horse) the stanza: “For the sacrifice” (III. 16. 6).

18. When the fire is carried forward by a chariot (towards the fire-place) he (the Brahman) asks the Adhvaryu, who gets hold of the horse from behind to recite the following five stanzas.

## VI

1. As you cried at your very birth rising from the ocean and the clay and possessed the wings of the eagle and the arms (feet) of a deer, Oh Runner! your birth is much praise-worthy. As you cried being born in the water, Oh horse—strong, running and endowed with (supreme) strength, you were, at first, fixed for the Brahman and then were apportioned the shares of the Atharva—, the Sāma—and the Yajurvedas. At first Prajāpati led to the Atharvan the horse, which was purified by the Rk verses. He kindled, at first, in his stride the fire, which led

6 Caland translates the second line as: “Dich, Agni, hat Atharvan hervorgebohrt aus dem Lotus, der das Haupt von allem ist, er der Priester (?)”. We have taken the word *mūrdhnaḥ* as being in the same case with *tvā* and *viśvasya* as an adjective of *vāghataḥ*. Another interpretation can be suggested, the word *mūrdhnaḥ* is to be construed as being in the ablative. So the translation should be: Oh Agni, the Atharvan has generated you from the lotus—from the head of all the priests. Obviously *mūrdhnaḥ* has been used in a figurative sense.

7 Caland suggests *apāniti*. But the word *apānati* is quite correct.

me to the world of the pious. Oh horse! drive off my enemies and grant me a posterity and long life. May I, by your help, kill the rivals, who hate me. Grant me, who am the sacrificer, the heavenly abode. Dispel the enemies and overpower the wrong-doers, so that I may remain superior to those, who do all sorts of mischief to me.<sup>8</sup>

2. When the Āhavanīya and the Dakṣiṇāgni fires are together transplanted from the Gārhapatya and are brought forward (i. e. borrowed) he (the Brahman) recites at this the stanza: "I separate" (XII, 2. 32)

3. He (the Brahman) worships the Āhavanīya fire, which is ignited, with the stanza: "Hither this bull" (VI. 31. 1).<sup>9</sup>

4. The Dakṣiṇāgni may be generated by the churning of wood or may be transplanted from somewhere.

5. The Sabhya and the Āvasathya fires are to be borrowed from the Āhavanīya or the Āvasathya from the Sabhya. The Sabhya fire is intended for the Sabhā (assembly—and playhall) and the Āvasathya for the house.

6. He (the sacrificer) gives to the Brahman the 'fire-footed' horse, the chariot, the cow, from whose milk the Brahmaudana is prepared and gold.

7. After he (the Brahman) has appeased the fire by the hymn: "You are called Agni Vaiśvānara, burning and scorching you have come down here. Be our intercessor to the gods, may we suffer no injury from you," he drives it hither with the five stanzas: "As you cried" (Vait. 6. 1).

8. After he has poured down upon the chariot an offering of butter with the stanza: "Indra's strength, the march of the

8 Caland has omitted the word *mahi* in his translation. It means 'much, exceedingly' etc. He reads *ādadhē* instead of *ādade* of the text.

9 Caland, does not seem to have understood the significance of the root *upa+sthā*, which means "to worship". He translates: "Das angelegte Āhavanīya—feuer redet er (der Brahman) indem er davor stehend darauf hinblickt, mit (der Strophe): 'heran dieser stier' (VI. 31. 1) an".

Maruts' (VI. 125. 3), he mounts upon the same with the stanza: "Oh wood strong-limbed" (VI. 125. 1).

9. Then he (the Brahman) sits down in his usual place and during the dedication of the full-spoon offering, (which is done by the Adhvaryu) he recites the stanza: "To you with devotion" (III. 15. 17).

10. After he (the Brahman) has buttered the die with the stanza: "This to the powerful" (VII, 109. 1) he passes over the same to the Adhvaryu for the gamble (of the cow).

11. In the sacrifices, which demand the kindling of the fire—in Agni Pavamāna, Agni Pāvaka, Agni Śuci and Aditi, (after the distribution of the chief gifts of these (Iṣṭis) he employs (for anumantṛaṇa) the following stanzas successively: "May the Pavamāna purify" (VI. 19. 2), "Of you the powerful" (XVIII. 4. 59), "Agni the Rakṣas" (VIII. 3. 26) and "Aditi is the Sky" (VII. 6. 1).

12. Then the sacrificer should observe for twelve days the instructions, (which are indicated in the Kauś. sūtra I, 31-34 by the word) "The food of fasting."

13. One maintaining chastity and the observances sleeps on the ground in the vicinity of the fire.

## VII

1. The Agnihotra takes place in the evening and the morning.

2. After he (Yajamāna) has milked the Gaviḍā (cow) he places the Āgnihotra (i. e. the milk reserved for the sacrificial gift) into the fire (i. e. the Gārhapatya fire.)

3. After he has illuminated (with the burning blade of a grass) the milk which is being cooked at the fire) and which has swelled right to the very brim (of the Sthālī), he pours down water into it and removes (the Sthālī) into the north of the fire.

4. The enclosing of the fire and sprinkling (of water) over it (or over the Āhavanīya fire) take place by the formula: "You, who are the Ṛta" (Kauś. sūtra 3. 4).

5. From the Gārhapatya to the Āhavanīya he pours down an



uninterrupted stream of water with the formula: "You are ambrosia, connect the ambrosia with the ambrosia (i. e. immortality)."

6. He warms (at the Gārhapatya or the Āhavanīya fire) the washed Sruc (i. e. the Agnihotrahavanī) and Sruva-spoons with the formula: "Burnt down" (Kauś. sūtra 3. 4.)

7. With the Sruva he lifts (and places) into the Sruc four spoonfuls.

8. After he has raised to the height of his mouth the Sruc, over which he places a piece of fire-wood, he advances (in such a position) to the Āhavanīya fire with the formula: "I lead the sacrificer above to the heavenly world.

9-11. After he has placed (the Sruc, the Agnihotrahavanī by the side of the Āhavanīya) upon the straw he throws the fire-wood (mentioned in the Sūtra 8 into the Āhavanīya), while he mutters: "For heaven (i. e. for the attainment of the heaven) I place you, who have the lustre of the Agni, who are equipped with wind and breath, who are heavenly and who are radiant" (such for the evening Agnihotra) but "I place you, who have the lustre of the Sun etc." (as above) for the morning Agnihotra. When that piece of fire-wood becomes fully inflamed he scatters upon it the first gift with the formula: "May Agni united with the god Savitṛ and united with night along with Indra, accept (this) with pleasure, Svāhā"; but "May Sūrya, united with Uṣas....accept this with pleasure, Svāhā" (for the morning Agnihotra).

12. When he looks to the Gārhapatya with the utterance of the words: "May this earthly world be extended for me," he mentally utters the stanza: "Prajāpati, none other than you" (VII. 80. 7) and pours down the second offering, which is fuller than the former.

13. Thrice he moves the Sruc (i. e. the Agnihotrahavanī) towards the north (over the Āhavanīya) with the words: "I appease the Rudras."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Caland does not agree with Garbe, who emends *Srucam* as *Sruvam*. Caland shows that the reading of Garbe cannot be justified.

14. He places the same upon the straw, wipes off it (namely the mouth of the Sruc) but on the north of the spot, where the spoon remains, he washes the hands (i. e. for removing the fat clinging to the hands) (upon the straw) with the formula: "I appease the herbs and the trees."

15-16. After he has washed for the second time the spoon he places the holy thread upon the right shoulder, during which he recites the formula: "To the fathers I pronounce Śvadhā."

Between the two back fires (i. e. the Gārhapatya and the Dakṣiṇāgni) there takes place the performance of the Agnihotra which is discussed below in sūtras 17-19, and) which is undertaken with a special desire. According to our preceptor it is perpetual.<sup>11</sup>

17. After he places a piece of fire-wood into the Gārhapatya fire, he draws the first offering from the Sthālī with the Sruva and then pours down the same there with the utterance of the words: "May the lord of prosperity bring in prosperity here, may Prajāpati grant the continuity of posterity here, Svāhā to the Agni—the master of the house and the rich lord of prosperity.

18. The second offering is treated.

19. (In the manner described in the sūtra 17) he sacrifices in the Dakṣiṇāgni with the aphorism: "Svāhā to the Agni—the eater of food and the lord of the food! (thus) the first offering.

20. After he has sprinkled (water) over the fire (i. e. the Āhavanīya) with the formula: "To you the truth with the right" (Kauś. sūtra 6. 20) he throws off the Sruva, Sruc and the straw towards the north of the Āhavanīya fire.

21. What remains as remnant in the Sruc he eats (in the following manner.)

11 We could not follow the translation of the sūtra (15), as given by Caland, who translates: "Nachdem er (den Löffel) zum zweiten Male (an der Schnäuze mit dem Händen) abgewischt hat, (wischt er das Fett von den Händen) nachdem er (die Schnur oder das Oberkleid) über der rechten schulter gebracht hat, südlich (von der Stelle wo die Sruc liegt, am grase ab mit (der Formel)," u. s. w.

22. With the words : "I appease the breath" he takes it (for the first time); after he has touched water with : "I appease the wombs" (he takes it) (for the second time). With the utterance of the words "I appease the All-gods" he takes the remaining portion at last.

With the Sruc, which he has not yet washed, he pours down with the utterance of the words: "I appease the Sarpa and the Itarajana". After he has cleansed the Sruc (placing the same) over the straw, he pours down water for the second time with the words : "I appease the Sarpa and the puṇyajana"; with the utterance of the words: "I appease the Gandharvas and the Apsarās" he does the same for the third time west to the Āhavanīya fire.

23. He warms the Sruva and Sruc in the Āhavanīya fire with the utterance of the words: "I appease the seven ṛṣis".

24. With the words: "I carry off the southern" he washes the handle of the Sruc (putting it) downward in the evening Agnihotra, but upward in the morning Agnihotra.

25. In the Brāhmaṇa there has been described the worship of the fire (which would follow immediately and which should be done by the sacrificer, who would place himself before every fire and look to it.)<sup>12</sup>

26. During the milking of the Agnihotra-cow and the following performances if anything takes place he (the Brahman, the sacrificer?) should offer a gift of butter to the respective god.

## VIII

1. On the thirteenth day he, who is desirous of performing the New and Full-moon sacrifices, should offer a sacrificial cake, which is intended for Agni-Viṣṇu and preserved in a dish, termed as Ekādaśakapāla; while performing this the Brahman should recite the stanza: "Agni and Viṣṇu" (VII. 29.1).

2. At first beginning with the Full-moon sacrifice he

<sup>12</sup> See note above.

dedicates the Caru, which is reserved for Sarasvatī, and then a sacrificial cake, which is kept for Sarasvatī in a vessel, termed as Dvādaśakapāla. During such performance the Brahman recites the stanzas: "Sarasvatī, in your observances" (VII, 68) and "Whose observance" (VII. 90).

3. If a misfortune takes place within one year after the kindling of the fire (i. e. a misfortune of the sacrificer) then he should abandon the fire Agnihotra under the constellation Rohiṇī and celebrate the Punarādheya (i. e. rekindling of the fire) under Punarvasu with the utterance of the holy syllables : "Om, bhūh, bhuvah, svaḥ, janad, om."

4. When the crops of the fields (such as rice, barley and millet) become ripe the Āgrayaṇeṣṭi takes place.

5. He (the Brahman) should recite the stanza : "To Idāvatsara" (VI. 55. 3) in the preliminary and concluding sacrifices.

6. After the dedication of the sacrificial cake, reserved for Agni-Indra he (the Brahman) recites : "Oh Agni, Indra." (VII. 110. 1); when the sacrificial cake, reserved for Indra-Agni is dedicated the stanza : "To us, Indra and Agni" (Kauś. sūtra 5. 2) is to be uttered.

7. After the dedication of the Caru, preserved for the All-gods, of the sacrificial cake, intended for the heaven-earth and of the Caru. kept aside for Soma he (the Brahman) recites the stanzas respectively : "If we knowing" (VII. 115. 1), "Heaven and Earth with hearing" (II, 16.2) and "Soma among the herbs" (V. 24. 7).

8. On the day of the full-moon of the Phālguna he begins the Term sacrifice.

9. On the previous day there takes place the Iṣṭi of Vaiśvānara or that of Parjanya, in which as Anumantraṇa there appear the stanzas : "Oh Agni, the Vāiśvānara" (II. 16. 4) and "Roar, thunder" (IV. 15. 6).

10. In the first Term-sacrifice particularly of the Vaiśvadeva, while the fire sprung from the Araṇi is carried (to the Uttaravedi) he (the Brahman) recites the words : "Be both of you one-minded with us" (Kauś. sūtra 108. 2).

11. While throwing the sacrificial gift (upon a piece of burning wood, placed on the newly kindled fire) he recites the stanza: "The fire into the fire" (IV. 39. 9.)

12. In this way he utters aphorisms while the generation of fire takes place.

13. While offering the sacrificial gifts to Agni, Soma, Savitr, Sarasvatī, Puṣan, the Maruts, the All-gods and the Heaven-earth he should recite the following stanzas respectively: "Agni of the trees" (V. 24. 2), "Soma of the herbs" (V. 24. 7), "Savitr of stimulation" (V. 24. 1) "Sarasvatī, in the observances" (VII. 68. 1), "In the distance of the way" (VII. 9, 1), "The Maruts of the mountains" (V. 24. 4). The All-gods mine" (IX. 2. 7 cd.), "The Heaven-earth of the gifts" (V. 24. 3).

14. While making the gift of whey he recites the half-stanza: "To one who makes favours flow downward" (III. 16. cd.).

15-16. By smell the Hotṛ, the Adhvaryu, the Brahman take shares of it but the sacrificer actually eats from there during which, however, they invoke each other by the stanza: "whatever semen is generated within me, whatever goes out from me and whatever forms again in me,—with all these may you, being favourably disposed, enter into me. By this may you make me capable of procreation and rich in posterity. Being called upon (i. e. invited) by you, who are drunk by the people and who are invoked, I eat. It is the fundamental form of the Term-sacrifice.<sup>13</sup>

17. In the second Term-sacrifice of the Varuṇa-praghāsa, which takes place during the month of Āsāḍha, while the two

13 Caland reads the word *prasicyate* instead of *prasidhyati* of the text. Obviously he translates the portion *yanmc retah prasicyate* (Garbe's text *prasidhyate*) as: "Welcher Samen von mir ausgegossen wird". But in pursuance of the text of Garbe we have translated the same as: "Whatever semen is generated within me". We have based on the meaning of the root *pra+sidh*, which Monier Williams suggests as: "To be accomplished or effected, succeed, to result from, to be explained or made clear."

fires (i.e. the two Āhavanīya fires) are carried forward he (the Brahman) goes behind and utters the stanza: "Agni, go forward" (IV. 14.5).<sup>14</sup>

18. He places himself in the proximity of the southern fire (i.e. to the south of the southern of the two Āhavanīya fires.)

19. After he has passed by the front (i.e. eastern side) of the two fires and has dedicated, at first, the preliminary and then the subsequent offerings to the northern Āhavanīya fire, he does the same to the southern Āhavanīya fire (too).

20. When the wife (of the Prati-prasthātṛ) is asked about her faithlessness and she discloses the name of the paramour, they (i.e. the Brahman and his associates) purge her of the sin (i.e. pour down water over her head by reciting the stanza: "Oh water, carry off" (VII. 89. 3).

21. As before, the Brahman offers, at last, concomitantly with the recital of stanzas, the five sacrificial gifts, common to all the Term sacrifices, along with those, which are reserved for Puṣan. (comp. Vait. 8.13)

22. (Besides the Varuṇa-praghāsa) while dedicating the sacrificial gifts to Indra-Agni, Varuṇa, the Maruts and the Ka, he makes over the offering to Varuṇa with the stanza: "Varuṇa of the waters" (V. 24. 4) and to Ka with the stanza: "Which the distributor of life" (IV. 2. 1).

23. After the Avabhṛta-soma the Viṣṇu-strides are made between the two Vedis, which stand behind the two Āhavanīya-fires.

## IX

1. On the day of the full-moon of Kārttika the performance of the third Term sacrifice—the Sākamedha takes place.

2. On the previous day in the Iṣṭi (to be performed early

14 Here are referred to two Āhavanīya fires, which are necessary for the second Term-sacrifice. Caland suggests that one should read *japann-anveti* instead of *japanneti*.

in the morning) in honour of Agni (who is endowed with the supreme glow) the Brahman should utter the stanza: "He has thundered" (III. 3. 1) ; in the Iṣṭi to be performed in the noon in honour of the Sāmtapana Maruts (i.e. the Maruts, who burn people) the Brahman should recite the stanza: "You, who burn" (VII. 77. 1) and in the Iṣṭi to be performed in the evening in honour of the Gṛhamedhin Maruts (i.e. the Maruts, who watch over the domestic rites of the house-holders) the stanza: "A sharp appearance" (IV. 27. 7.)

3. The Iṣṭi (mentioned just now) begins with the distribution of the shares of the Ājya and end in the Idā.

4. On the following day the Brahman performs the sacrifice of the Full-spoon with the recitation of the stanza: "Full, oh spoon" (III. 10. 7. c-f).<sup>15</sup>

5. In the Iṣṭi in honour of the sportive Maruts the Brahman dedicates the chief offerings with the utterance of the stanza: "Dark is the course" (VI. 22).

6. In the Māhendrī Iṣṭi the Brahman performs the dedication of the six sacrificial gifts, the last of which concerns Indra-Agni (with the stanzas cited in the Vait. 8. 13, 8. 22).

7. He dedicates the sacrificial gift to Mahendra with one stanza and to Viśvakarman with the stanza: "Those who eat" (II. 35.1)

8. In the Pitryā Iṣṭi the procedure is common upto the distribution of the Ājya shares to the respective gods. In the Pitryā Iṣṭi the first gift is dedicated to Soma, accompanied by the father or to the fathers, accompanied by Soma; the second to the fathers, who have taken their seats upon the straw; the third to the fathers tasted by Agni, the last to Agni, who conveys the

15 The following note of Caland deserves notice: "Es ist fraglich ob *pūrṇadarvyaṃ* oder *pūrṇadarvaṃ* zu lesen ist, das erste haben C, BC und Sāyana in Komm, das letzte A und B. Die überlieferung von Gop. br. II. 1. 23. *niṣkāsamīśreṇa pūrṇā-darvya* muss verdorben sein. Kauś. br. (das hier die Quelle des Gop. ist.) hat *pūrṇadarveṇa*; *pūrṇadarvaṃ* lesen auch einige HSS."

sacrifice to the ancestors. During the distribution of the chief gifts the Brahman utters successively one of the following stanzas: "You, the fathers seated on the straw" (XVIII. 1. 5), "Our fathers are invoked (XVIII. 3. 45) "You the fathers tested by Agni" (XVIII. 3. 44) and "You, Agni, who convey the sacrifices to the ancestors" (XVIII. 4. 71).

9. He (the Brahman) dedicates the preliminary offerings to the fire, transplanted from the Dakṣiṇāgni (which occupies here the place of the Āhavanīya).

10. After he (the Brahman) passes by the south of this fire, he sits west to it (i.e. behind the same turning his face to the east) —the sacrificer and the Āgnīdhra (do the same after they pass by) the north (of the fire).<sup>16</sup>

11. Astu Svadhā is the reply of the Āgnīdhra.

12. It is stated also in two ślokaś: "In the Pitryā the Brahman, after he has dedicated the preliminary gifts, goes to the south of the fire and then during the performance he turns his face to the east and takes his seat in the west; but the Āgnīdhra and the sacrificer both (do the same i.e. sit) only after they have gone to the north of the fire. In this Iṣṭi "Astu Svadhā" is to be pronounced as the reply.<sup>17</sup>

13. He smells the Idā (but he does not eat it).

16 Caland suggests the following modifications. In the place of *uttareṇa yajamāna āgnīdhraśca* /10/ *astu svadheti*...../11/ he wants to read: *uttareṇa yajamānaḥ* /10/ *āgnīdhraś cāṣṭu svadheti*...../11/. He introduces further modifications which are: *āgnīdhra astu svāhā*. Such emendations are demanded by the fact that the Āgnīdhra does not sit at all; according to Caland the following two ślokaś are later compositions and are based on a wrong interpretation of the passage. But we do not think that there is any convincing evidence in support of the emendations of Caland.

17 Caland suggests the reading *pratyāñ āsita* instead of *pratyāñ āsida*. But Keith does not consider the correction of *āsida* as *āsita* to be proper. Because the nominative case in the word 'Brahmā' is supported by parallel cases, which are found elsewhere. See *JRAS*, 1910 p. 938.



14. After the pouring down (of the water upon the Vēdi), the procedure is, again, according to respective gods and the same should end in *Samyus*.<sup>18</sup>

15. While coming out from the hut (where the *Iṣṭi* has taken place) they mutter the stanza: "By this form" (VII. 3. 1).

16. After they have gone a few steps to the north, they worship the Sun with the recital of the stanza: "Your beams are spreading" (XIII. 2. 1).<sup>19</sup>

17. Turning to the right (without leaving the seat) they worship the fire with the recital of the stanza: "To the heaven, to the earth" (III. 21. 7).<sup>20</sup>

18. After they have gone a few steps further to the north on a cross way they worship the *Tryambaka* (cake) with the recital of the stanza: "Which in fire" (VII. 87. 1).

19. The noble relations of the sacrificer, (and he himself), each holding a sacrificial cake in the left hand and striking the right thigh with the right palm, (at first) turn to the left and then for three times go round the fire, kindled on the cross way while they recite the stanza: "We worship the *Tryambaka*, which is fragrant and which adds to one's prosperity. Like a pumpkin from the stalk may I be separated from death and not from non-death (i.e. immortality)."<sup>21</sup>

20. Then with the sacrificial cake in the right hand they go for three times round the fire, at first, turning to the right.

18 Caland has left the portion *Samyuantā* in his translation.

19 As mentioned above, Caland does not seem to have given a correct translation of *upatiṣṭhate*, which means 'worships':

20 Here too Caland does not seem to have been correct in his translation of the same, i.e. the word *upatiṣṭhate*, which is inferred here from the preceding sūtra.

21 Caland suggests that *yajamānāryajanāt* of the sūtra 18 should be construed with the following sūtra and the same should be emended as *yajamānāryajanāḥ*. It must be admitted that it makes the construction easy. But Keith does not consider it necessary, see *JRAS.*, 1910, p. 938.

21. When the vessels (in which the sacrificial cakes have been prepared) are thrown off he (the Brahman) recites the stanza: "He, who is related to us" (I. 19. 3).<sup>22</sup>

22. Turning to the right they come back (to the sacrificial place).

23. Then the Iṣṭi of Aditi takes place, (in which the chief gift is dedicated by the Brahman with the utterance of an aphorism).

24. On the day of the full-moon in the month of phālguna there takes place the fourth Term sacrifice, which is known as the Sunāsīrya.

25. In repetition of the Term-sacrifice on the previous day.

26. The Brahman dedicates as before the five sacrificial gifts, of which the last is intended for Puṣan (comp. Vait 8. 13) with the recitation of certain stanzas.

27. He dedicates the sacrificial gifts to Vāyu, Sunāsīrya and Sūrya with the following stanzas respectively: "So much by one" (VIII. 4. 1), "The Sunāsīra here" (III. 17. 7) and "Sūrya of the eyes" (V 24. 9).

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(To be continued)

Again Caland translates *āryajanāḥ* as "arische verwandte". It does not seem to be happy. "Ārya" means also "noble". So we have translated the relevant portion as "The noble relations of the sacrificers etc". Again, Caland explains "*amṛta*" as "nicht-sterben", which he clarifies as "vor der zeit sterben" i.e. "premature death". But this is wrong; because, *amṛta* is not premature death but immortality, which is craved by every body but is denied to man.

22 The translation, which we have given here, differs considerably from that of Caland. The latter translates: "Wenn die beiden körbe (in welche man die opferkuchen getan hat, in einem Baume) befestigt sind so flüstert er (der Brahman)". Here the following note of Caland should be taken into consideration:—"Da in keiner mir bekannten Quellen von einem Ablösen derkörbe sondern überall von einem Anhängen (āsajati) die Rede ist, muss *pramukta* hier diese Bedeutung haben".



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## Iconographic Notes on some Buddhist Sculptures at Ellora

A careful look into the sculptures and a study of the plans of the caves will prove, contrary to the belief of some scholars, that the Buddhists and the Hindus started their excavations at Ellora almost simultaneously. While working side by side they vied with each other in embellishing their excavations with sculptures and paintings. In carving out the sculptures, such features belonging to one group which appealed to the other group were readily borrowed and in this they followed no taboo.

### *Āyudhapuruṣa*

Sometimes, the results of such borrowals have been very interesting. For example, the image of Vajrapāṇi, as the right *dvārapāla* in Cave VI, is one of them where the thunderbolt, which otherwise is to be found in one of his hands, has been personified (*Āyudhapuruṣa*) as seen in the contemporaneous Śaiva excavations like Caves XXI and XXVI at Ellora, thereby making the image very interesting and a unique one, for, such an arrangement is rarely seen in the Buddhist sculptures. Vajrapāṇi, standing gracefully under a decorated foliage is holding what looks like a fly-whisk in his right hand and the left hand rests on his waist band. To his right is a female attendant with a female dwarf by her side. The thunderbolt personified (*Vajrapuruṣa*) is a striding male figure with its hands crossed looking up with the thunderbolt tucked in the head-dress. In this, it compares favourably with the descriptions of *Cakrapuruṣa*

in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. It states, "It is also to be carved in such a manner as to indicate that it is showing a desire to gaze upon Viṣṇu" (Book III, Ch. 85, vv. 13-14).

Representations of weapons in anthropomorphic forms 'came to be designated generally as the *Āyudhapuruṣas*, and it is worthy of note that this feature was mostly associated with the icons of Viṣṇu', although instances of their association with the Saivite images can also be cited from Badami, Ellora and Pattadakal. Besides these sites in the Deccan, at other places like Rajgir, Deogarh etc., in the Gupta sculptures of Viṣṇu, *Āyudhapuruṣas* occur and the tradition lingers quite for some time. Mention of such *āyudhas* could also be traced in the Sanskrit drama '*Uttara Rāma Carita*' by Bhavabhūti, where Lakṣmaṇa explains to Sītā a painting depicting Rāma surrounded by the weapons, sent by the gods, as animated beings.<sup>1</sup>

Prof. Banerjee tracing the earliest representations of *Āyudhapuruṣa* writes, 'The earliest representations of an *Āyudhapuruṣa*, however, seems to go back to the Indo-Scythic period. *Vajra* appears on some copper coins of Maues as a man behind whom is carved a double-pronged thunderbolt, just in front of Zeus-Indra whose right hand is placed over his head'. But his contention that 'it is a fact that such a personification of *vajra* has not been found in later reliefs' is not agreeable for obvious reasons.

When compared with other extant images of the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, such a representation with the *Vajra* shown as an *Āyudhapuruṣa* appears to be rather unconventional. For Vajrapāṇi, the usual way of holding the *vajra* is either to hold it in one of the hands (horizontally, or vertically) or vertically with the first and middle fingers (the latter style, apparently indicates a South Indian influence). One, therefore, wonders what might be the reason for them to choose this device.

<sup>1</sup> E. B. Havell, *Indian Sculptures and Painting*, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> J. N. Banerjee, *Development of Hindu Iconography* (1956), p. 527.

Perhaps like the other contemporaneous Buddhist as well as Brahmanical excavations where the *dvārapālas* are shown either with a *chauri* or with a lotus in one of the hands, the excavators of this cave also wanted to represent the *dvārapālas* in the like manner and while dealing with Vajrapāṇi the example of the Hindus came handy to have the desired pleasing effect.

Though not from the same site, another interesting example of *Vajrapuruṣa* may be cited. This sculpture appears, on the left wall of the hall of Cave XC at Kanheri, in an elaborate panel with Indra. Other representations of Indra in the Buddhist sculptural panels are either as one of the acolytes of the Buddha or shown as visiting the Buddha in the Indraśilā cave. This panel shows no such arrangement. Indra is seen seated to the right on a lotus below the central image of the Buddha. Behind him is seen the *Āyudhapuruṣa* seated in the same way as Indra is, with his arms crossed and the *vajra* tucked in his head.

The efficacy of *Cakra* or *Sudarśana*, an *ayudha* and the exalted position in which it is placed has been described elaborately in the *Ahīrabudhnya-Saṁhitā*, a well-known text of *Pāñcarātra-āgama* which Dr. Agrawala feels 'should be assigned to the Gupta period on the basis of its internal evidence bearing on the religious conditions portrayed in it.'<sup>3</sup> In fact *Cakra* is glorified to such an extent as to hold it to be equal in its divine nature to Viṣṇu himself who manifests himself in the form of *Sudarśana*. A couple of instances have been cited where after worshipping the deity (*Cakrapuruṣa*) the respective kings were able to worst their enemies.

The interesting sculpture on the outer wall of the southern gallery of the first floor of Viśvakarmā caitya hall (Cave X) with four arms which carries in the front left hand a *vajra* and yet another one tucked in the head, described by Burgess.<sup>4</sup> and

3 V. S. Agrawala, *An Explanation of the Cakravikrama Type coin of Candragupta II*, JNSI. volume XVI (1954) Part I, p. 97.

4 J. Burgess, *Elura Cave Temples in Ar. Sur. W.<sup>o</sup> India*, vol. V, p. 11, Pl. XIX, 4.

Grunwedel<sup>5</sup> as Vajrapāṇi requires to be reconsidered. Unfortunately the other hands are broken and save a broken handle which is in the back right hand, nothing remains. The Vajra on the head betrays its nature as an *Āyudhapuruṣa* whereas the other one in the hand suggests its being the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi. But then Vajrapāṇi with four arms is not known. Could it be the *Āyudhapuruṣa*, in whom Vajrapāṇi has manifested himself, an idea which might have been borrowed from the text of the Hindus as described above?

### *Kubera*

The Buddhist god of riches is known as Jambhala and his cognizances are the *mātulaṅga* fruit in his right hand and a mongoose vomiting jewels in his left hand. In the Buddhist excavations one would naturally expect the god of riches to be sculptured so. But some of the sculptures of this god found in the Buddhist cave shrines at Ellora, however, betray the traits of Jambhala and show some interesting features.

Of these, most interesting is the sculpture<sup>6</sup> to be seen on the right wall of the shrine of Cave VI (7th cent. A.D.). The god there is represented in a panel at the centre, with two other Bodhisattvas flanking him. He is shown as seated in *Sukhāsana* holding a citron in his right hand and in his left hand is what looks like a book. As usual he is shown as having a protruded belly, wearing a *yajñopavīta*, ear-rings, necklace, armlets and interestingly enough, his head is adorned with a *Śikhaṇḍaka* coiffure—which is a characteristic of Kumāra.

The association of Kubera, the god of wealth, with the book<sup>7</sup> is very interesting. Generally, the Buddhist deities like Sarasvatī, Mañjuśrī and Prajñāpāramitā and the Hindu deities like Brahmā

5 Grunwedel, *Buddhist Art*, p. 95.

6 J. Burgess, *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, vol. V,

7 R. Sen Gupta, *Journal of Indian Museums*, vol. XII, p. 37. A similar figure appears on the outer right wall of Aurangabad Cave II.

and Sarasvatī who are connected with learning and wisdom are represented with the book. Exception to these perhaps is the image of Śiva as Dakṣiṇā-murti, holding a book in his right hand shown as the teacher of the highest truth, in the Pallava temple at Kaveripakkam. But none of the iconographic texts appears to have mentioned Kubera with a book. The idea of associating the book or *Vidyā* with the god of wealth, would appear to have been borrowed from the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* where the goddess of wealth, Śrī (Lakṣmī), is stated to be the presiding deity of 'Science', described as *Padminī Vidyā*. Vāc, the goddess of learning, has also been described as the giver of wealth and made to say *aham rāṣṭrī saṃgamaṇī vasūnām cikituṣī Prathamā yajñīyānām* etc. (R̥gveda, X, 125). So it will be seen that from the early period the goddess of wealth is connected with wisdom, the same way as the goddess of wisdom is said to be the giver of wealth. Some such idea, as described above, might have been responsible in conceiving Viṣṇu with Śrī and Vāc as Puruṣottama, at once the abode of wealth and wisdom, thus bringing the two qualities in one which is rarely found. And it was not at all then difficult to develop the idea in making the god of wealth also of wisdom such as depicted in this image of Kubera. The idea of combining wealth with wisdom appears to have been continued in the later period also, as will be found from the descriptions of the goddess Dhanada-Tārā appearing in the *Sādhana-mālā*, where she is required to hold the book in one of her hands.<sup>8</sup> Her name as Dhanada-Tārā is quite significant, as one of the appellations of Kubera is known as Dhanada.

The figure of Kubera<sup>9</sup> on the western wall of the cell behind the landing between the ground floor and the first floor of Cave XII (8th cent. A.D.) in a panel with Padmapāṇi and Tārā is also

8 B. Bhattacharayya, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 109.

9 J. Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 18,

J. Fergusson & J. Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, p. 282.

R. Sen Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

—Bhavan's Journal, vol, IV No. 15, pp. 39-41



of some iconographic interest. As usual he is portrayed with a protruded belly and is sitting in *mahārājalīlā* pose. His left hand is placed on the left thigh holding the treasure bags issuing from the *nidhis* while the right hand which is placed on the right knee (in *utkutika*) is broken from the elbow. He is wearing a necklace, *karnakuṇḍalas*, a *yajñopavīta* and his head is adorned with a *kirīṭa-mukuta*. On his right side is a *śaṅkhā* and to his left is a *padma*, the two *nidhis*, as enjoined in the Brahmanical iconographic texts like *Viṣṇudharmottara*, *Amśumadbhedāgama*, *Pūruva Kāraṇāgama*, *Mayasaṃgraha* etc. In this sculpture also the traits of Janabhala are not to be found, instead the Hindu god Kubera looms large.

The sculptures described above were carved when there was no *Sādhana-mālā* to determine the *Sādhana*s of the Buddhist images. That is why the images of the same Buddhist gods appear in the same site, varying from one another. At Ellora, where the Buddhists and the Hindus worked side by side, instances could be cited to show that the Buddhists drew inspirations to carve their images from the Hindus and *vice versa*.<sup>10</sup>

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10 The *dvārapālas* in the pre-Rāṣṭrakuṭa excavations of the Hindus have definitely been modelled on the Bodhisattvas as *dvārapālas* in the contemporaneous excavations of the Buddhists.

## Development and Growth of Tāntric Religion in Mithilā

Hinduism during the mediaeval period, as in modern times, was largely Tāntric. The Tantra was then, as now, the great Mantra and Sādhana Śāstra (Scripture) and the main source of some of the most fundamental concepts still prevalent such as worship, images, initiation, *Yoga*, the importance of *Guru* and so forth.<sup>1</sup> *Haṭhayoga*, and the various kinds of spiritual training form the greater part of the Hindu ritual which is known as *Sādhana*. As a matter of fact, Hinduism—both esoteric and exoteric—is, to all intents and purposes, largely Tāntric.<sup>2</sup> Generally speaking, the Tantras may rightly be termed as “so many encyclopaedias of the knowledge of their time.” They practically deal with all matters of “common belief and interest from the doctrine of the origin of the world to the laws which govern kings and the societies... medicine and science generally. The Tantra is... the repository of esoteric belief and practices, particularly those relating to *yoga* and *mantra-tattva*”.<sup>3</sup> In them we find the description of the Supreme Being, the creation and destruction of the Universe, the classification of creatures, the origin and worship of the gods, the heavenly bodies, different worlds and hells, man and woman, *cakra* (centre of the human body), *dharma*, *āśramas* and the sacraments, *mantra*, *yantra* (magic diagram on which to worship), various forms of spiritual training, *Japa*, *Vrata*, worship (internal and external), medicine, science and many other things.

### I

It has been argued that the Tantras are a recent Śāstra and are largely the creation of the people of Eastern India which is supposed to be its stronghold. The antiquity of the Tantra

1 Avalon, *Principles of Tantra (Tantra-tattva)*. Pref. 1 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, Intro. 19

3 Bhattacharya, *Māṭrkābheda Tantram*, Intro. 3 ; Avalon, Intro. 49-50.

has, however, been proved beyond doubt to be as ancient as the Śruti itself.<sup>4</sup> In fact, not only in Eastern India, but throughout the whole of India the upper classes of Hindu community are governed by the Tāntric religion as far as initiation (*dīkṣā*) is concerned. There are Śāktas, Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas all over the country. The Śāktas are initiated by the Śakti-mantra, the Vaiṣṇavas by the Viṣṇu-mantra and the Śaivas by the Śiva-mantra. All these mantras are the exclusive properties of the Tantra. Like Mithilā, Madras, Bengal, Bombay, Kāśī (Banaras), Kāshmir, Assam and other such notable places of India have Śāktas, Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas in a large number following the Tāntric system. It is, therefore, absurd to argue that this system is the exclusive creation of the people of Eastern India only. Sādhakas have appeared on the scene almost everywhere, and the Maithila Sādhakas and Paṇḍitas, like those of Bengal and other places, have "only prepared compendia and developed the practical side of it to a considerable extent" for the benefit of humanity at large.<sup>5</sup>

The theory that the Tantra has come out of the Mahāyāna doctrine of the Buddhists<sup>6</sup> who worship Tārā, Vajrayoginī, Kṣetrapāla and use *mantra*, *bīja* and *japa*, is faulty, hardly supported by any corroborating evidences. There is, no doubt, a similarity of doctrines and practices in the two systems but this hardly justifies the view that one has been borrowed from the other. Scholars are generally unanimous on this point that the Cīna-Tantra is the originator of the worship of Tārā<sup>7</sup> and that this Tantra existed in India much earlier than the time when Mahāyāna Buddhism made its appearance. Apart from the insignificant minor similarities here and there, there is a very great dissimilarity, viz., the animal sacrifice. It is a well-known fact that in *Pañcatattva-sādhana*, the Tāntrikas lay much stress

4 Bhattacharya, Intro. 7ff; Avalon, Intro. 58ff; D. N. Bose, *Tantras : Their Philosophy and Occult Secrets*, pp. 2ff.

5 Bhattacharya, 7; Avalon. 59ff.

6 Cf. S. B. Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, 13ff.

7 Tārā is also referred to in the R̥gveda.

on animal-sacrifice while the Buddhists hold quite an opposite view.<sup>8</sup>

It is interesting to note that the Śakti-devatā (the Mother-Goddess) is worshipped and revered and the Śakti-pīṭhas (the seat by the Mother-Goddess) are established in almost all parts of India: Kāmākhyā is worshipped at Kāmarūpa; Vindhyavāsini on the Vindhya hills; Yogamāyā and Pūrṇamāsī at Vṛndāvana; Annapūrṇā Saṃkaṭa, Tripurabhairavī, sixty-four Yoginīs, Kālabhairavī, Durgā, Śītalā, Maṅgalā and other Devīs at Kāśī; Guhyeśvarī in Nepal, Gāyatrī and Sāvitrī in Rajputana; Lalitā at Prayāga; Ugratārā in Mithilā (Tirhut); Jayakālī in Calcutta; Jvālāmukhī<sup>9</sup> and Chinnamastā in and near Jālandhar; Kṣīrabhavanī near Kashmir and other Devīs in almost all parts of India. Vimalā, Sarasvatī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Kālī and Lakṣmī are worshipped and paid obeisance to, in Utkala, the seat of Lord Jagannātha.<sup>10</sup> To say that Raghunandana Bhaṭṭācārya of Bengal was the first to prescribe for the worship of Durgā, as provided for in the Tantra, would be quite wrong and misleading for we know that previous to him many other thinkers in Mithilā and Bengal and elsewhere had done so. Vidyāpati, Śrīdatta, Harinātha Upādhyāya, Vidyādhara, Ratnākara, Bhojadeva, Jīmūta-vāhana, Halāyudha, Vācaspati Miśra. Mādhavācārya and even Śaṅkarācārya had admitted the authority of the Tantra while explaining philosophical doctrines. Vācaspati Miśra, the celebrated Maithila thinker and commentator on the six Darśanas, has in his commentary on the *Patañjali-Darśana* recommended Dhyāna of Devatās as prescribed in the Tantras.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, many well-known books written in Mithilā and elsewhere, before the age of Raghunandana, contain provisions for Durgā-Pūjā, such as the *Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī*, *Samvatsara-pradīpa*, *Kālakaumudī*, *Jyotiṣārṇava*, *Smṛti-sāgara*, *Kalpa-taru*,

8 Bhattacharya, 8; Avalon, 60ff.

9 Jvālāmukhī, Caṇḍī, Tārā, Kālī, Durgā etc. are also worshipped in Mithilā at different places.

10 For further details, see Avalon, 63-64.

11 Cf. Avalon, 67.

*Kṛtya-mahārṇava*, *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, *Kṛtyatattvārṇava*, *Durgābhakti-prakāśa*, *Kālā-nirṇaya*, *Pūjā-ratnākara* and others pertaining to the worship of Durgā and Kālī.<sup>12</sup>

The Bengali practice of worshipping earthen images of Durgā or Kālī with great pomp and ceremony is followed in Mithilā in all details. It is true that this practice does not receive the same favour, as in Mithilā and Bengal, in other parts of India but it is also true that She is everywhere worshipped in *ghaṭas* (earthen jars). Shrines containing her images are reverentially visited, nine-day *Vratas* performed, fasts duly observed and the sacred *Caṇḍī* read on the Mahāṣṭamī day. Even now women folk bathe in the rivers or tanks early every morning for the first nine days of the bright fortnight of the month of Āśvina and worship the small images of the Devī, made of clay, with all devotion. All these undoubtedly show that this practice of worshipping the Devī has been followed from times immemorial without any break whatsoever.

The most peculiar characteristic of this religion is that women and Sūdras are not at all prohibited from practising the *Sādhana*. The *Rudrayāmala* says that a woman may also be a *Guru* who is *kulīna* (practising Kulācāra), of auspicious appearance, fair-faced and lotus-eyed, endowed with intellect, calmness of mind, proficient in *mantras* and in their meanings, ever engaged in *japa* and devoted to the worship of her *Iṣṭadevatā*<sup>13</sup> The *Gautamiya Tantra* declares that the people of all castes, irrespective of sex, may receive its *mantras*<sup>14</sup>. In the *Cakra* there is no caste at all, even the lowest Caṇḍāla being deemed, whilst therein, higher than Brāhmaṇas. The *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*<sup>15</sup> says: "That low Kaula who refuses to initiate a Caṇḍāla or a Yavana into the Kaula dharma, considering them to be inferior, or a woman out of disrespect for her, goes the downward way. All two-footed beings in this world, from the *vipra* (Brāhmaṇa)

12 For other details, see *Ibid.*, 65ff.

13 *Ibid.*, 807-08ff.

14 Cf. "*Sarva varṇādbikārāśca nārīnāṃ योग्यमेवा ca*".

15 Chap. xiv. Vs. 187 & 184.

to the inferior castes, are competent for Kulācāra." This is no doubt the most revolutionary aspect of this religion which in the course of centuries attracted millions of followers to its fold.

Another great factor that contributed to its tremendous growth and popularity is that in the Tantras, the duties of each of the castes as well as those of the king are not prescribed much differently from Manu, the great law-giver. The *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* speaks very highly of the family-life. It rigorously prescribes that one should never be allowed to take to ascetic life who has children, wife or such like near relations to maintain.<sup>16</sup> We have in the ninth chapter of the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* (*Samśkāras*) "sacraments from conception until marriage", entirely in consonance with Brāhmaṇic texts. In the tenth chapter we have the direction for the disposal and the cult of the dead (*Śrāddha*). "A peculiarity of the Śāktas in connection with marriage consists in the fact that side by side with the Brahma marriage for which the Brāhmaṇic prescriptions are valid, there is also a Śaiva marriage, that is, a kind of marriage for a limited period which is only permitted to the members of the circle (*cakra*) of the initiates. But children out of such marriage are not legitimate and do not inherit."<sup>17</sup> Thus, the Brāhmaṇic law also applies to the Śāktas, and as such the section concerning civil and criminal law in the eleventh and twelfth chapters of the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* substantially agrees with Manu.

## II

History, as hitherto read and understood, speaks of the Brāhmaṇas of the pre-Buddhistic age, their growing alienation from the *Jñāna-kāṇḍa* or the Upaniṣadic wisdom, their impotency to save the orthodox Vedic communities from the encroachments of the non-Vedic hoards and races,

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Shamsastry, *Kauṭilya*, p. 48.

<sup>17</sup> Avalon, 117. It is, however, incorrect to call them illegitimate children. On the other hand, off-springs of a Brahma-marriage are preferential inheritors.

their ever-deepening religious formalism and social exclusiveness.<sup>18</sup> "But this history is silent on the marvellous feats which the Upaniṣadic sects of anchorites, were silently performing on the outskirts of the strictly Vedic community, with the object of aryanising the new India that was arising over the ashes of the Kurukṣetra conflagration."<sup>19</sup> This new India was not strictly Vedic "like India of the by-gone ages, for it could not claim the religious ministrations of the orthodox Vedic Brāhmaṇas."<sup>20</sup> This spiritual process consisted in absorbing communities of men into the fold of Vedic religion. The prevalent Vedic ritualism of the day was too powerless to face these new communities springing up all over the country. From the *Karmakāṇḍa* we have, therefore, to turn to the only other factor, *Īnānakāṇḍa* in the Vedic religion which finds elaborate representation in the Upaniṣads. Besides the earliest ritualism of *yajñas* being philosophised upon in the earlier Upaniṣads, we find that the foundation for a new elaborate ritualism was fully laid in many of the later Upaniṣads. The philosophy of *Pañca-upāsanā* (five-fold worship viz. the worship of Śiva, Devī, Sun, Gaṇeśa and Viṣṇu) was developed out of the mystery of Praṇava ('Om'), of which some features are also to be clearly seen in the Brāhmaṇas.<sup>21</sup> As a matter of fact, such *upakaraṇas* of Tāntric worship as grass, leaves, water etc. seem to have been adopted from the Vedic worship along with their appropriate incantations. This may thus be regarded as the earliest configuration which Tantricism had on the eve of "these silent but mighty social upheavals through which the Aryanisation of vast and increasing multitudes of new races proceeded in pre-Buddhistic India, and which had their culmination in the eventful centuries of the Buddhistic *coup-de-grace*."<sup>22</sup>

The great problem to be tackled was the aryanisation of this new India that was rising and surging furiously from every side

18 Avalon, 558.

19 *Ibid.*, 558.

20 *Ibid.*, 558.

21 Cf. the discourse about the conception of Śiva. 22 *Ibid.*, 554.

against the fast-dwindling centres of the old Vedic orthodoxy struggling hard for its existence. The religious movements of the Bhāgavatas, Śāktas, Sauras, Śaivas, Gaṇapatyas, Jainas and Buddhists absorbed many of the non-Aryan races and cast their life in the mould of the Vedic spiritual ideal which largely minimised the gulf existing between them and the Vedic orthodoxy, ending in their gradual amalgamation in the course of a few centuries. Thus the pre-Buddhistic phase of Tāntric worship is a fact to be reckoned with in the early history of India much before the appearance of the Buddha. Its foundation was so widely and firmly established that, notwithstanding the ceaseless efforts, Buddhism could not dislodge it, but was in turn itself swallowed up by this Tāntric worship within a short span of few centuries. This wonderfully transformed Buddhism soon appeared on the arena in its new attractive garb as the Mahāyāna.<sup>23</sup>

The Tantra is wrongly stigmatised as a libidinous phallic necromancy.<sup>24</sup> This is all due to the excesses of some misguided Vāmanārgins or Vāmācāriṣ. The real Tāntrik is neither a cynic nor a hedonist. He is rather an eudemonist than a slave to passions. The much-ridiculed five M's (*makāras*) are only esoteric symbologies: Wine (*Madya*) is the lunar ambrosia flowing from the Soma Cakra; Woman is the Kuṇḍalinī Śakti sleeping in the lower plexus (*Mūlādhāra*); *Matsya* (fish) is the annihilation of "I" and "mine;" *Māṃsa* (meat) is the surrender of the limited human to the unlimited divine; *Mudrā* (gesture) is cessation from evils and *Maithuna* (sexual union) is the union of the Śakti with the Śiva in man. The Tantras do not consider woman to be an object of pleasure. She is described as *Parāśakti* and deified and adored. The Tantra is the only science that has explored the divine regions of man and woman. It is the only method that enables man to rise Phoenix-like from the dead ashes of the sexual passion. It analyses and scrutinises every atom of the

23 For other details, see *Ibid.*, 556ft.



human synthesis and thereby awakens the latent dynamism in all the places of consciousness.<sup>25</sup>

### III

The worship of Śakti was predominant in Mithilā and Bengal. Like the worship of Śiva, the worship of Śakti was equally wide spread. There is, however, a great difference in that there is a marked paucity of legends and stories recording any attainment of the Siddhis by the worshippers of lord Śiva whereas the stories regarding Śākta devotees attaining miraculous powers are numerous in Mithilā. This is probably because Śakti was supposed to give these Siddhis only, but the god who could award *mukti* or salvation was Lord Śiva, which was certainly a higher thing. Some of the greatest saints and upāsakas of Mithilā, such as Devāditya, Vardhamāna, Madana Upādhyāya, Gokulanātha Upādhyāya, Mahārāja Rāmeśvara Siṃha, Gaṇanātha Upādhyāya, Lakṣminātha Gosāin and a host of others, were associated with Śakti. Every house-hold has a *Gosāuni* (Śakti goddess). There are still many *pīṭhas* and centres of Tāntricism where Sādhakas from different parts of the country come to practise *Sādhana*. Moreover, the first verse taught to a child is in praise of Śakti. The popularity of *Aripaṇa* or *Alipana* (painted *Yantras* on the ground); the names of Maithilias such as Tantradhārī, Tantranātha, Śaktinātha, Khadgadhārī, Tārācaraṇa, Ādyācaraṇa etc; the *Sābara* rites of Mithilā women; the vogue of fish and meat eating; *Pāga* or their Tāntric head-dress; the offering of sweet-cooked rice in milk and the feeding of Kumārīs (virgins) known as *Pātārī ceremony* on all auspicious occasions; the widespread public worship of the earthen images of Durgā in Daśaharā or Vijayā-daśamī; the worship of the *Liṅgam* (a veritable Tāntric

25 *Ibid.* For other details, see *Ibid.*, xv-xix; 1-14; 15-117; Avalon, *The Principles of Tantra*, 19-105, 539-725. For the two different sects *Vāmamārga* and *Dakṣiṇamārga*, see Woodroffe, *Śakti and Śākta*, 57, 71, 153-54 etc.

symbol); the Mātṛkā Pūjā, the performance of *Nainā-Yōgina* and the prevalence of *Dikṣā (Iṣṭamantragrahaṇa)*—all these briefly point to the great importance of the Śakti cult in the life of the Maithilas in general. But, all told, the fact remains that the glory and honour that the Tantras had, and received, in the time of those great Sādhakas and Māhārājas Kṛṣṇacandra and Śivacandra of Bengal and Lakṣmīśvara Siṃha and Rāmeśvara Siṃha of Mithilā no longer exist. This is the reason why the Tāntric Sādhakas of Bengal and Mithilā are not so well-known at present.

This reverence for and adoration of Śakti has immensely influenced the script and literature of the land. Not only there are a large number of Tāntric works written and compiled in Sanskrit, not only there are almost all writers praising Śakti or the Primal (Ādyā) Energy, but the very script of Maithilī, called Mithilākṣara or Tirahutā has developed in accordance with Tāntric *Yantras*. The history of this peculiar development of the Varṇas has been elaborately dealt with in the *Kāmadhenu Tantra* and the *Varṇoddhāra Tantra*.<sup>27</sup> Let us, for instance, take the formation of the letter *ra* (र). The three lines form the *trikoṇa* and the line inside is a modern development of a *Bindu* which is to be found in mediaeval Maithilī inscriptions. The *āñji* (F) sign in the beginning of Maithilī alphabet is again due to the Tāntric influence, for it represents the Kuṇḍalinī (*Mūlādhāra*).<sup>28</sup>

Another very important result of this Tāntric predominance over the Maithilas has been the composition of the popular *Gosāuni-ka-Gīta* (The song of the Goddess Durgā) in Maithilī literature, without which no auspicious religious ceremony can ever begin in Mithilā. Besides a large number of songs popularly known as *jogs*, there are a great number of documents relating to incantations and charms in Maithilī which, though not fully

27 Also cf. Woodroffe, *The Garland of Letters (Varṇamālā)*.

28 Vide, *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, vol. I, p. 3.

understood now by the experts of the Mantra-Śāstra, nonetheless, serve their purpose very efficaciously.<sup>29</sup>

Thus the influence of the Tāntric practices has been so great upon the life of the Maithilas that all their daily activities are practically dominated and governed by the principles of the Tāntric religion. The *Kaula* and *Daśa-mahāvidyā*, however, gained wide popularity in Mithilā in course of time. The Kaulas became the protagonists of *Vāmācāra* or *Vāmamārga* sect and *Daśa-mahāvidyā*. Kālī, Tāra and Bhubaneśvarī have now prominent place in the life of the Maithilas. Āgama does not necessarily mean “a sacred book appealed to by Vāmācārins” as opposed to Nigama of the followers of Dakṣiṇācāra. Nor is the term Vāmācārīn itself a synonym for Kaula, for a person may be the first without being the second.

In ancient Mithilā Dakṣiṇācāra was more popular and widely practised. It produced great Sādhakas. But in course of time (probably about a century ago) the Maithilas came to be intensely influenced by the Vāmācāra practices. The mode of worship in the two *mārgas* is quite different. It is true, one who follows the *Vāmācāra* attains Siddhi soon; but it is very difficult to practice it successfully and as such there is every chance of a fall in this *mārga*. Vasiṣṭha and other Sādhakas followed *Dakṣiṇācāra* and were great devotees of the goddess Tārā. Great Sādhakas have from time to time appeared on the scene and inspired people to practice this religion. Tāntric Buddhism, as we know, also greatly influenced it with the result that Mithilā came into contact with Mahā Cīna (Great China).<sup>30</sup> *Dakṣiṇācāra* was therefore, (and is still) looked upon with high regard. Innumerable Sādhakas in Mithilā followed this path, whose life-history, full of miraculous feats and wonderful achievements, has now passed into legends handed down from generation to generation and is yet an object of popular study and reverence.

29 Vide, *JBRs.*, XXXIII. pts-i-ii, pp. 50-52.

30 Umesha Miśra, *Maithila Saṃskṛti O' Sahhyatā* (in Maithili,) pt. II. p. 18.

Side by side with Dakṣiṇācāra, Vāmācāra and Kaula also gained much popularity and soon gave rise to *Abhicāra-karma*<sup>31</sup> (black magic, mummery, witch-crafts etc.) among the low classes and women. This had no doubt a dangerously demoralising effect on the morale of the common people, and it was this *Karma* that largely contributed to the unpopularity of the Tantras in general and the growing hatred for the Sādhakas in particular in Mithilā, Bengal and Assam. Indeed, the divine qualities inherent in this sect are very difficult to practise, and, therefore, in the absence of the right interpretations and understanding people took to degrading forms of debauchery under the garb of the Tāntric Sādhana. The result was obvious. The divine Tantras came to be stigmatised as a libidinous phallic necromancy.

The use of *Bhāṅga* (something like the Soma-rasa of the ancient Hindus) among the Maithilas is the direct result of their association with Vāmācāra. Those who restrained from taking wine, probably took to *Bhāṅga* for intoxication.

Lakṣmīdhara, in his commentary on the thirty-first verse (*śloka*) of *Saundarya-Laharī* of Śaṅkarācārya has given the names of sixty-four Tantras, i.e. *Candrakalā*, *Iyotsnāvati*, *Kalānidhi*, *Kulārṇava*, *Kuleśvarī*, *Bhuvaneśvarī*, *Bārhaspatya* and *Durvāsamata*, in which the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas, the Sūdras and even the mixed castes have been given equal rights to perform meditation.<sup>32</sup> The first three are advised to attain Siddhi through Dakṣiṇācāra practices and the Sūdras and the mixed castes are required to undergo Sādhana through Vāmācāra. It is due to this liberal attitude that there have been no religious disturbances in Mithilā since hoary past to

31 This *Abhicāra-karma* was unfortunately the indirect result of the Arimardana Homa or Nigraha Homa i.e. "the object of punishing an enemy" fully dealt with and enumerated in the thirty-first chapter (Arimardana Homa) of the celebrated work *Tantrarāja-Tantra* (The King among Tantras), edited by Sir John Woodroffe (Arthur Avalon). Verses 3-6 of this chapter speak of certain things which should be known regarding the enemy before a *Homa* is begun (*Ibid.*, pp. 94-95).

the present day. One finds Śaivas, Śāktas and Vaiṣṇavas living together in perfect harmony in one and the same family. Whenever fish or meat is prepared in one family the members, though belonging to the different sects, sit together in one row and take their meals ungrudgingly, the only difference being that the Vaiṣṇavas keep away from taking fish or meat. In spite of their catholic outlook and tolerance, wearing *kañbhī* or *Tulasī-māla* (the garland of *Tulasī*), a symbol of Vaiṣṇavism, is not looked upon with favour by the Maithilas. The Brāhmaṇas however daily worship the *Sālagrāma* (*Viṣṇu*) and rub *Śrīkhaṇḍa-candana* and ashes (*bhasma*) of *Śiva* on their forehead, arms, ears and other parts of their body. Side by side with these gods, they worship *Iṣṭadevī*, the symbol of *Śakti* and also put vermillion marks on their forehead. *Durgā Pūjā* is celebrated with the same zeal and vigour as *Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī* or *Janmāṣṭamī* and *Śivarātri*<sup>32</sup>. All this has resulted in wonderful blending of different religious sects and perfect harmony among their followers, a feature hardly to be seen elsewhere. Even the most orthodox Brāhmaṇas participate in Muslim religious festivals and also those of the low castes, and vice-versa. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to say that in Mithilā and Bengal we have the real Indian culture in all its broad aspects, still flourishing, to which the celebrated Tāntric religion has made its contributions.

UPENDRA THAKUR

## Criminal Justice under the Colas

The Imperial Colas of the line of Vijayalaya held sway over south India for over four centuries from 846 A.D. The Cola sapling planted by Vijayalaya grew bigger and sturdier with his successors and spread its branches far and wide. His descendants carried the banner of conquest far into the north and farther across the seas. The gigantic temples of the South with their towering spires are standing monuments of their achievements proclaiming to the world at large their highly developed artistic as well as architectural aptitudes. The walls of these temples are studded with numerous inscriptions giving us an insight into their sense of historicity and a glimpse of their social life and the administrative machinery—their executive and judicial systems. This paper is confined to their administration of justice—criminal offences either wilful or through accidents, and punishment meted out to the culprits. For our study we shall take into consideration crimes of greater intensity only, such as murder, arson and loot, culpable homicide not amounting to murder, misappropriation of temple funds and cheating.

Many instances of death due to accident and not intentional murder, and punishments meted out to the culprit have been recorded. The instances referred to here are accidental deaths mostly in hunting expeditions.

On the south wall of the Agastyisvara temple at Olakkur in the south Arcot district, there is an inscription detailing an accident in a deer hunt. A congregation consisting of the Brahmins of the assembly at Olakkur, the residents of the main division and the sub-districts decided that a lamp should be endowed to the shrine of Vatapivitankar in Tiruvagattisvara temple at Ulakkaiyur.<sup>1</sup> To meet the cost of maintenance of the lamp 32 cows and one bull were made over by the culprit to the Siva

1 Arsie No. 352 of 1909.

temple at Ulakkaiyur also known as Rājamahendranallur. The inscription is dated in the 4th year of Rājakesarivarman Tribhuvanacakravarty Rājadhirājadeva, i.e., Rājarāja II (1146-1173 A. D.). The gift is made in order to expiate the sin committed by the offender so that the soul of the departed would be propitiated and would not trouble him.

An epigraph dated in the 31st year of Rajakesarivarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Kullottunga Coladeva (1178-1218 A.D.) on the northern wall of Brahmapurisvara temple at Brahmadeśam in south Arcot district mentions that one Aniyupuravan Menmattan alias Kulottungasola Muvendaraya endowed 128 cows for the upkeep of 4 perpetual lamps in the Śiva temple—Brahmisvaram Udayar, in Brahmadesam village.<sup>2</sup> This is in order to wipe off the sin of having accidentally killed one Ammuri Pitchan otherwise known as Rājendrasola Nilagan-garajan, a ryot of Uttamasolavalanadu. The culprit was a resident of Tribhuvanamadevinallur, a hamlet of Rājatāja Caturvedimangalam in Panaiyurnadu. It can be seen from this that the endowment need not necessarily be made to the temples in the village of the deceased or in that of the culprit but usually to a temple to be decided by the assembly of the elders, perhaps a big temple near the scene of accident. Likewise a missed aim in a boar hunt having killed a man, the culprit was asked to endow 32 cows for the burning of a perpetual lamp in the temple of Urbhagankondaruliya Mahadevar at Tiraiyanariyur alias Sola Keralacaturvedimangalam. This record is dated in the 10th year of Tribhuvanacakravartin Rājārāja III (1216-1246 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> Another victim to such an accident was one Nakkambi Pattala Ilavaraiyan also known as Selvan belonging to the village Koduvur. The missile aimed by Eluvan Vanji Mullaraiyan, a hunter of Kudarpakkam in Mattur Nadu, killed the former. In order to pacify the parents and the near relations of the deceased he undertook to burn a perpetual lamp in the Bhaktavatsalesvara temple at

<sup>2</sup> Arsie No. 159 of 1918.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* 138 of 1906.

Tirukkalukunram for which he gave 15 cows.<sup>4</sup> This is dated in the 12th year of Kulottunga Soladeva. Punishment for careless aim was also in the nature of burning perpetual lamps in a temple.<sup>5</sup> This was decided by the governor and the people of the district to which the accused belonged. We have a record dated in the 3rd year of Rājakesarivarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Kulottunga Coladeva (1178-1218) mentioning a gift of two lamps to Tiruttandonri Aludaiyar temple by a Śūdra hunter who killed a Vellala in hunting accident. This was imposed by the assembly of agriculturists of the seventy nine districts. The Śūdra hunter endowed 64 cows for this purpose.<sup>6</sup>

Besides deaths in hunting expeditions there are a few instances of death due to assault and hurt. A village officer demanded tax from a woman who refused to pay the tax on the ground that she was not liable. The woman was put through an ordeal whereupon she swallowed poison and committed suicide. So an assembly of "the four quarters and eighteen districts and the various countries" decided that the tax collector was guilty and was ordered to pay 32 *kasus* for burning a lamp in the temple of Tiruttandonri Mahadevar.<sup>7</sup>

There is an instance of accidental death. A man pushed his wife. She sustained injuries and consequently she died. The assembly declared the husband guilty and imposed on him

4 Arsic 146 of 1933.

5 *Ibid.*, 64 of 1910—Endowed to the Tunandarcoil at Siyamanglam in the 9th regnal year of Tribhuvanacakravartin Kulottunga Coladeva (1178-1218) A. D.).

6 *Ibid.*, 80 of 1906.

7 *Ibid.*, 188 of 1906—Cf. Manu—"He who raises his hand or a stick shall have his hand cut off, he who in anger kicks with his foot shall have his foot cut off."

Bühler—Laws of Manu—Ch. VIII para 288 & 305.

Kauṭilya is severer than Manu—"When a man hurts another with a weapon he shall pay the highest amercement; when he does so under intoxication his hand shall be cut off; when he causes instantaneous death he shall be put to death.—Shamasastri—Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra*. Ch. XI, p. 256.



that he should arrange for a lamp to be burnt in the Tandorn Aludyar temple.<sup>8</sup>

Similar punishment is meted out to a culprit who while exhibiting his skill accidentally killed a third party. Two persons were testing their skill in arms. A third man also joined them and in the fracas stabbed the second man who died. Here the relatives of the deceased met together and decided that the culprit should burn a lamp in honour of the deceased in the temple of Tirunagesvaramudayar. The culprit endowed 32 cows to meet the expenditure for the maintenance of the lamp. The record is dated in the 9th year of Vikrama Cola.<sup>9</sup>

There is also a case of a woman throwing a stick at her daughter which missing aim hit a different girl resulting in her death after a lapse of 20 days. The punishment meted out to the woman is that she should burn a perpetual lamp in the Siva temple of Urbagankondarulina Nayanar. The husband of the culprit offered 32 cows to the Siva temple for this purpose.<sup>10</sup>

Another interesting case is that of the death of a third person in a fracas between two rivals. Palli Ponni Nadalvan and Vana-varajapperaraiyar two watchmen of the Brahmapurisvara temple of Tiruvalandurai Mahadeva were bitter enemies and one day a quarrel ensued between them. In the fight the son of the former, Kuppai Perumal, was killed by the latter. The assembly decided that in the absence of an adequate compensation the culprit should burn perpetual lamp at the Siva temple at Pullamangai for the merit of the deceased. The culprit made a gift of 72 sheep for burning 3/4th of perpetual lamp in the name of the deceased. The record is dated in the 9th regnal year of Vikrama Coladeva (1118-1135 A.D.)<sup>11</sup>. The record is found on the south wall of the central shrine in the Brahmapurisvara temple at Pullamangai Pasupatikoil, Papanasam Taluk, Tanjore district.

8 Arsie 91 of 1906.

9 *Ibid.*, 92 of 1906.

10 *Ibid.*, 92 of 1906.

11 *Ibid.*, 554 of 1921.

The common crime of the day appears to be misappropriation of temple funds by meddling with temple accounts and cheating. There are several instances where the temple revenue has been utilized to meet personal needs. In the 7th year during the reign of Rājakesarivarman, Madurantakan Gandaradittanar scrutinized the temple accounts and management pertaining to the temple at Tikkalivallam. He discovered that the Śiva brāhmaṇas had misappropriated the lands belonging to the temple and ordered the levy of a fine of 74 *kalanjus* of gold from the Śiva brāhmaṇas. Further, he deposited 5 *manjadis* from his personal funds to make up the deficit and made over the entire amount for interest to the village assembly of Mandiram otherwise known as Jayameru Srikarnamandiram, a devadana and brahmadeya of Tuy Nadu. The interest  $1\frac{1}{8}$  *kalanju* on every *Kalanju* working to  $12\frac{1}{2}\%$  was given to the Śiva brāhmaṇas to meet the expenditure of the seven day festival in the month of Margali. Gandaradittanar also appointed the trustees to supervise the regular conduct of the festival and for the proper accounting of the expenditure. Thus the four variors of Tikkalivallam, two variors of Mandiram and the two Kanganis were held responsible for the expenditure. This record will be found on the north wall of the central shrine of the Bilvanathesvara temple at Tinevallam.<sup>12</sup>

An epigraph dated in the 16th regnal year of Kullottunga Cola III (1178-1218) refers to a similar misdeed. A devadana garden of arecanut palms was sanctioned by Palayamurudaya Pallavarayar. This was done in the 7th year of Rājādhirājadeva II. But after 7 years the manager of the temple, Paluvur Andan felled the tress for his own use, selling them and sharing the profits with his relatives. Thus he despoiled the devadana lands and deprived the temple of its legitimate revenue. Apart from this he defalcated the donations deposited into the Treasury by the trustees and the Andars. At the time of enquiry he fled away from his residence. A thorough search

of his residence was made and 40 *kalams* of paddy, and a few vessels belonging to the temple were recovered. Thus it was proved beyond doubt that he was a Śivadrohin. His lands were confiscated to the temple. His residence was pulled down and in its place a Vinayaka shrine was constructed. Its image of Ganesa was known as Kulottungasola Vinayaka Pillaiyar.<sup>13</sup>

The temple at Tiruppanandal seems to have suffered worst at the hands of the greedy priests. The ornaments of the image of the god have been thrice misappropriated. First, during the time of Adirājendradeva, when Rājendra Muvenda Velar examined the accounts. Secondly, in the 8th year of Tribhuvanacakravartin Kulottungacoladeva (1178-1218), when the treasury was checked by Senāpati Pallavaraya and thirdly, after lapse of 13 years in the reign of the same king when Senāpati Nandiyaraja checked the accounts. The king was kind enough to view things leniently on application for forgiveness. He ordered that 540 *kasus* equivalent to the amount misappropriated be collected from them. *One of the priests Pandan Kumaraswami was not able to pay his share and as a compensation he gave up his right of worship for 4½ days every month in the temple of Tatakesvara. The Mahesvaras, pitying him, agreed to this settlement.*<sup>14</sup> The epigraph is to be found on the south wall of the first prakara of Arunjatesvara temple. This is dated in the 29th year of Rājakesarivarman alias Kulottungacoladeva. A few such cases have also been disposed off in this manner.<sup>15</sup>

Another grievous crime perpetrated by the Śiva brāhmaṇas in the time of Rājārāja III (1216-1246 A. D.) has been brought to our notice. Tiruchitrambalabattan and an accomplice of his stole the necklace (Tirumuttavali) of the goddess and presented the same to his paramour. Further, when a temple menial demanded his due share of food, these people with the aid of malaiyalar and the accountants put him in solitary

13 Arsie 189 of 1929.

14 *Ibid.*, 46 of 1914.

15 *Ibid.*, 47 of 1914.

confinement in a cellar in the temple at Srimahesavanallur. He also resorted to falsification of temple accounts by making a false entry of 2 *kalanjus* for unguents while only  $\frac{1}{2}$  *kalanju* had been actually spent. They were derelicts in their duties and further they insulted and maltreated the king's messengers carrying royal orders. Not stopping with this, they did not pay their land dues, sold them away along with the paddy stored in the temple by the priests Jñānaśiva Pandita and Vignesvara Pandita. They purloined the bronze gong and also hid the image of god in the beam at the entrance. Thus they committed heinous crime against Śiva and the ruler and through the Kannadiyas collected 50,000 in coins. The trustees, the Sri Mahesvaras and the residents met together and declared that these two persons should not be kept in the service of the temple and their entire property movable and immovable including servants were confiscated to the state. This record is to be found on the east wall of the mandapa in front of the central shrine at Sivapuram and dated in the 22nd year of Tribhuvanacakravartin Rājarāja-deva III (1216-1246 A.D.)<sup>16</sup>

Similarly the property of Naduvayuladayar Udayan and Tirucirrambalam Udaya Vanavan Nayakan were sold and the proceeds paid into imperial treasury for the crime of misappropriating the temple property.<sup>17</sup> So also, one Andarandan, who opened the coffers of the temple and mutilated the image of god suffered forcible confiscation of his lands to the state. This was decided by the residents and other judges of the village.<sup>18</sup>

A solitary instance of an accountant cheating the villagers is recorded. The assembly of Rājasundari Caturvedimangalam (modern Kallaparambur in Tanjore district) decided that the village accountant who cheated the villagers should be dismissed. They also debarred his descendants from holding office. This epigraph is to be seen on the north wall of the central shrine

16 Arsie 279 of 1927.

17 *Ibid.*, 308 of 1927.

18 Arsie 225 of 1927 found at Timmanyalakkudi in Kumbakonam Taluk and dated in the 24th year of Tribhuvanacakravartin Rājarājadeva.

of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kallapparambur<sup>19</sup>, and dated in the 19th year of Tribhuvanacakravartin Rājarājadeva, i.e. Rājarāja III (1216-1246 A.D.)

A case of arson and loot is recorded in an epigraph on the north and west walls of the central shrine in the Vedapurisvara temple at Kilaiyur and dated in the reign of Kullottunga-coladeva. The date is mutilated. Two individuals Kavanian Srikapatan Srikrishnan and Srikapatan Periyandan caused a riot and set fire to the residence of a Brahmin Arinarayanan. They were found guilty of the crime of causing riot and arson, and were both fined 1,000 *kasus*. No one came to their help and so their landed property was sold to the temple of Tirumadamudayar by the assembly of Tiruvindalur for 1,060 *kasus*—60 *kasus* being the penalty for not paying the fine in time. The sale was carried out by the assembly of Tiruvindalur and the proceeds remitted into the treasury as penalty for their crime<sup>20</sup>. The royal decree declares that those who are a source of trouble to the Brahmins, Vellalas and the temples would be liable to heavy fines extending upto 20,000 *kasus* and in case of default or inability to pay in cash they are liable to forfeiture of their lands which would be sold to realise the fines.

An instance of murder under provocation has been disposed off with the culprit undertaking to burn a lamp in the temple. The record comes from the west wall of the central shrine in the Jambunātha temple at Jambai and dated in the 28th year of Rājarāja I (985-1013 A.D.)<sup>21</sup>.

A native of Navalur (Tirunamanallur in the south Arcot District) attempted to seduce a concubine who was favourite of a merchant. The merchant infuriated at this outrageous attempt stabbed him. He was found guilty by the assembly. He joined with the relatives of the dead and endowed gold for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the

19 Arsic No. 583 of 1904.

20 *Ibid.*, 80 of 1925.

21 *Ibid.*, 77 of 1906.

Tandonrialwar temple at Jambai<sup>22</sup>. This is a clear case of murder under provocation.

A case of deliberate murder and its disposal is noticed in an inscription of Rājakesarivarman alias Tribhuvanacakravartigal Kulottungacoladeva and dated in his 6th regnal year. Vikramadittankamban alias Vikramasola Periyarayan of Kunnattur, a hamlet of Madurantakacaturvedimangalam besieged during night the residence of Raman Ambalakkuttan alias Tennattaraya of Malaiyanur a General under Edirilisola Sambhuvaraya stationed at Mukkashpattu in the Samburkottam and killed him. His wife Vambi committed *sati* by entering into the funeral pyre of her husband. The elder brother of the victim Ramanambi also known as Irungolappadi Nadalvan, thereupon vowed vengeance on the murderer. But Sambuvaraya his overlord with the aid of the elders of other Nadus dissuaded him and bound upon Vikramasola Periyarayan to endow two perpetual lamps to be burnt in the local Śiva temple, Udayar Tirukkalikunramudayar. For the maintenance of the lamps 90 sheep and 31 cows were made over to the temple. In this epigraph we have the name of the scribe also. He is one Tirucirrambala Acari. It will be seen from this that a grave crime like deliberate murder was treated very lightly and a minor punishment like the imposition of burning lamps in honour of the Lord in a temple has been awarded and the murderer let off lightly.

Accidents in hunting expeditions and misappropriation of temple funds seem to be the common crimes. Dacoity, highway robbery, petty thefts were perhaps less known and these speak of social security of the time. Crime was considered to be a social evil and to be punished—however slight the punishment might have been, it meant social degradation and loss of prestige.

The village assembly consisting of the citizens, representatives of the Nadus, etc., dominated by the learned Brahmins

constituted the judicial body. The accused themselves pleaded their cases. No elaborate judicial procedure, as obtaining today, with all its paraphernalia of solicitors, judges and jury seem to have existed. The judicial assembly more often played the role of a family gathering where a repentent member pleading guilty is readily willing to abide by the impositions of the elders. Very rarely cases are referred to royal court. Sometimes, the dispute gets settled outside the court with the Plaintiff and the defendant coming to an agreement through the intervention of tactful relatives. The criminal justice of the Colas swayed more to the side of leniency than what we would have expected it to be. Grave crimes, such as, murder, arson and loot, which in modern times are punished with decapitation, were let off with light chastisement, viz., requiring the culprit to burn a certain number of lamps in a temple. The number of lamps to be burnt varied according to the social and political status of the victim and the culprit and it varied from one to four for the same offence.

These inscriptions also throw an interesting sidelight on the cost of maintenance of perpetual lamps. For one lamp 32 cows, or 90 sheep or 32 *kasus* were to be provided.

K. S. RAMACHANDRAN

C. KRISHNAMURTHY

## An Inscription from Jāvar, Rajasthan

The Viṣṇu Temple of Rāmaswāmī at Jāvar, about 25 miles south of Udaipur, is situated on the right bank of a rivulet. A niche, towards the right hand side of the main entrance to this temple, once contained a rectangular black-stone slab (36 × 27 inches) bearing an interesting inscription of 40 lines. The inscription has been engraved in beautiful Devanāgarī letters in Sanskrit. It is regretted that the inscribed slab now remains in a fragmentary condition and a small piece thereof has been preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur (i.e. Exhibit no. 118 of the Archaeology Section).

The inscription has been briefly noticed by Dr. G. H. Ojha (*Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum at Ajmer, for the year ending March 1925*, p. 4, no. VIII; *History of Rājputānā*,<sup>1</sup> Hindī, Udaipur Vol. II, pp. 652-53) and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti (*Annual Report of the Arch. Survey of India*, 1934-5, p. 59). Kavirāja Shyamal Dass published its text in the *Vīra Vinoda*, (Hindī, vol. II, pp. 56-8) but the same has not been transliterated line by line. Still more, a critical examination of this important record has not been made as yet. I therefore take this opportunity of discussing the contents and deciphering the text thereof with the help of a somewhat blurred estampage<sup>2</sup> now preserved in the Udaipur Museum.

The record, under reference, begins with a benedictory phrase in honour of Gaṇapati followed by a line in praise of Sarasvatī—the goddess of learning. It then refers to the construction of the Temple of Rāmaswāmī and the Rāma Kuṇḍa at Jāvar by Ramā Bāi—the celebrated daughter of Mahārāṇā Kumbhā of Mewar

1 Henceforth abbreviated as *HR*.

2 The text is somewhat indistinct in this solitary estampage. Therefore a few letters, noted within *capital brackets*, have been restored with the help of the text presented in the *Vīra Vinoda* cited above.



and the wife of Maṇḍalika of Kathiawar (lines 1-3). The consecration ceremony of the above works took place on *Sunday, the 7th day of the bright half of the month of Caitra in the Vikrama Year (V.S.) 1554 (line 3)*. The date corresponds to Saturday, the 11th March 1497 A.D., while the intended date is Sunday the 12th March of that year (cf. Swami Kannupillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. V, p. 196). It is not plausible to fix the date as Saturday, the 28th April 1498 A.D. as stated by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti (*op. cit.*, p. 59). Ramā's father, Kumbhā, has been addressed as the lord of Chittor, Mahārāṇā and the great lord of the kings (lines 1-2) whereas her husband, Maṇḍalika, is described as the lord of Saurāṣṭra (सौरठपति) at Jūnāgarh (जीर्णप्राकार, cf. जीर्णदुर्ग as the name of this city in the मण्डलीकनृपचरित<sup>3</sup> महाकाव्य a historical poem of 10 cantos and 640 verses as preserved in the Asiatic Society at Bombay). This *Mahākāvya* informs us that the town of जीर्णदुर्ग is situated in front of the Raivata Mountain and that the city has received the name जीर्णदुर्ग "since enemies were out and met with their destruction when they attacked it" (Canto I, verse 39; H. D. Velankar, *op. cit.*, p. 39). The phrase जीर्णप्राकार of Jāvar Inscription appears to refer to Jūnāgarh—the capital of Saurāṣṭra. Dr. H. D. Sankalia (*Epigraphia Indica*, XXIV, pp. 221-2; Dohad Inscription of Mahamud Begadā, V. S. 1545) of course suggests that "the fort within the city, on the outskirts of the Dāmodar Ghāt and on the rising slope of the Girnār or Raivata Mountain, was known as *Jirṇadurga* or *Ihimjharakoṭa*, presumably the modern Uparkoṭ. The transference of the name of Girinagar to the mountain and that of the citadel *Jirṇadurga* to the city—now known as Jūnāgarh probably took place after the 15th century." Reference to *Jirṇadurga* in the Dohad Inscription of V. S. 1545 is equally important.

3 Briefly summarised by Prof. H. D. Velankar in the *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Bombay, Vol. XIV, 1953, pp. 36 ff. According to Prof. Velankar, the treatise was probably composed about 1460 A.D. (= 1517 V. S.).

The use of the epithet महारायाय for Maṇḍalika, in the Jāvar Inscription, is very interesting. He belonged to the Yādava dynasty and his wife Ramā Bāi was well versed in music (line 4, verse 1).

The second verse (lines 5-11) of Jāvar Inscription under review refers to the following construction works performed at the instance of Ramā Bāi:—

(1) The Temple of Dāmodara on the fort at Kumbhalgarh, distant about 60 miles from Udaipur.

(2) A tank on the southern side of the hillock at Kumbhalgarh.

(3) The Rāmakunḍa at Jāvar. A poetic description of this reservoir<sup>4</sup> has been incorporated subsequently (vv. 3-10, lines 7-18). Here ends the first part of the inscription.

The middle portion of the record, consisting of 5 verses (lines 18-25), is mainly devoted to the praise of Ramā Bāi. It has been stated here again that she was married to Maṇḍalika—the lord of Saurāṣṭra and a scion of the Yādava dynasty (line 19, verse 1). She was a well-read lady and was conversant with the treatises of Bharata and others. Nay, she was the goddess of learning (वागीश्वरी रमा, verse 2, line 22). Her father, Rāṇā Kumbhā, too was well grounded in the field of fine arts and literature. Ramā Bai was thus the worthy daughter of a worthy father who too has been duly praised in line 23 of this record. Ramā, the beloved of Maṇḍalika, got the Temple of Dāmodara constructed at Kumbhalgarh Fort and this religious edifice, built by *sūtradhāra* Rāmā, was as luminous as the Kailāsa Mountain (line 25). Reference to the architect of this particular Viṣṇu Temple is equally interesting here.

The third portion of the inscription (verses 1-11; lines 26-39) is exclusively devoted to the panegyric account of Maṇḍalika—

4 This particular tank remains in a well preserved condition even to this day and bears testimony to the religious activities of Ramā Bai while she was in Mewar.

the husband of Ramā Bāi. The former belonged to the Moon clan (इंदुकुल, line 26). Reference has also been made to his tutelary deity i. e. *Dāmodara* on the Girnar Mountain (lines 26-27)—a fact which proves that Ramā Bāi had really developed a great attachment for the deity—so sacred to her husband and his ancestors. It has been stated in the मण्डलीकनृपचरित महाकाव्य (Velankar, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Canto I. verse 99) that Maṇḍalika was born after his father Mahīpāla had propitiated his family deity (i.e. *Dāmodara*) for a long time. He got a son by the deity's favour and called him *Maṇḍalika*, since he had worshipped *Dāmodara-Viṣṇu* after visiting the grove of trees dedicated to the temple of *Dāmodara* in the forests of the mountain.

The phrase महीप in lines 25 (cf. महीपतनयश्रीमंडलीकप्रिया) and 38 (cf. महीपसुत मंडल सकलकलाकुशल) of the Jāvar inscription perhaps refers to Mahīpāla—the father of Maṇḍalika. The latter should be identified as Maṇḍalika IV—the last independent ruler of Saurāṣṭra and whose known inscriptions are dated in V. S. 1507, 1512 and 1523 (G. H. Ojha, *Report of Rajputana Museum at Ajmer, op. cit.*). According to the Muslim historians, Sultan Mohammed Begadā of Ahmedabad attacked Girnar, captured Maṇḍalika IV and forced him to accept Islam about the Hijarī Year 876. Maṇḍalika is stated to have died next year, in the H. E. 877 (= 1529 V. S. = 1472 A. D.; cf. *H. R.*, II, p. 652; N. P. Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 59; H. D. Velankar, *op. cit.*, p. 37). But this view is no more tenable in the light of the information contained in lines 27 to 39 of the Jāvar Inscription under study. It has been stated again and again, therein, that Ramā Bāi became overjoyed consequent upon meeting (मिलिते) her husband Maṇḍalika, perhaps after a long period of separation. The poet Maheśvara has expressed Ramā's pious emotions and love for Maṇḍalika at that moment in an eloquent style. He also became extremely delighted at the sight of Maṇḍalika (line 27). *The latter (i. e. Maṇḍalika) appears to have been present in Mewar on the occasion of the consecration*

ceremony of the Rāma Kuṇḍa at Jāvar in V. S. 1554. It will therefore be hardly plausible to agree with Muslim historians who suggest that Maṇḍalika had expired as early as V. S. 1529. The Jāvar Inscription thus furnishes a valuable information about this ruler of Saurāṣṭra during the latter half of the 15th century A. D. It is just possible that differences between Ramā Bāi and Maṇḍalika, if any, had disappeared by the time the Jāvar *Prasasti* of V. S. 1554 (=1497 A. D.) was composed by the contemporary court-poet of Mewar. Still more, we have now no tangible reasons to believe the Muslim historians according to whom Maṇḍalika IV of Saurāṣṭra was converted to Islam<sup>5</sup> and died as a Muslim in the Hijari Year 877 (=1529 V. S. =1472 A. D.)

Ramā Bāi has duly referred to *Dāmodara*—the family deity of her husband. She constructed an edifice at Kumbhalgarh and that too dedicated to that very deity out of her unfathomable attachment with the family traditions and customs of her husband. She was a truly devoted wife and therefore expressed due reverence and affection for her spouse and his family. It is worth noting that not a slight reference has been made to Rāyamalla—the contemporary ruler of Mewar and Ramā's own brother. It was he who extended her every help and facility during this period, pertaining to the last days of her life. Equally interesting is the omission of the names of Ramā and Maṇḍalika in the well-known Inscription of V. S. 1545 from Ekaliṅgajī (13 miles from Udaipur) and composed by the same poet (i. e. Maheśvara) a few years earlier (cf. *A Collection of Prākṛit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, Bhavnagar, pp. 117 ff.).

The मण्डलीकनृपचरित महाकाव्य (Velankar, *op. cit.* p. 37), probably written in 1460 A.D. (=1517 V.S.), contains a few details which have been corroborated by the Jāvar Inscription to some extent. But the former (*op. cit.*, p. 42 ; Canto I) states

5 Cf. HR. II, p. 651-3; *Vira Vinoda*, I, pp. 349-50; *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, pp. 305, 519 etc.

that this Maṇḍalika—the son of Mahīpāla, was married to Kuntā, the daughter of king Arjuna of the Gohilas; Arjuna being the son of Bhīma. It is curious that मण्डलीक-वृषचरित महाकाव्य, pertaining to the life and history of Maṇḍalika, does not refer to Ramā and Kumbhā at all though it records Maṇḍalika's fight against Duda—the Guhila ruler and uncle of princess Kuntā—the first wife of Maṇḍalika (Velankar, *op. cit.*, op. 45-46; Canto III). Maṇḍalika has also been described as a distributor of gold in charity in line 35 of the existing record from Jāvar, Mewar.

Reference to poet Maheśvara in line 27 of the epigrāph is equally interesting. He was possibly the same person as Atri's son *Maheśvara* alias *Maheśa*—the celebrated court-poet of Mewār during the contemporary period and the author of a number of *praśastis* discovered at Chittor,<sup>6</sup> Ekaliṅgajī<sup>7</sup> and Ghosunḍī.<sup>8</sup>

The last two lines of the Jāvar inscription are in prose and refer to *Sūtradhāra* Kṣetra's son Maṇḍana and grandson Īśvara. Maṇḍana, father of Īśvara, was the celebrated State-Architect of Mewar and is said to have constructed the impregnable fort of Kumbhalgarh under the patronage of Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarna. Moreover, the former was the author of a number of authentic treatises on Ancient Indian Architecture and Sculpture as has already been pointed out by me in detail in my paper published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, December 1957, Vol. XXXIII(4).

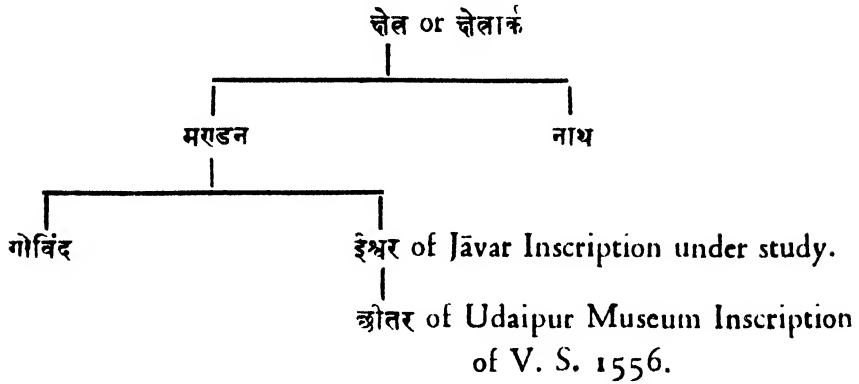
6 The *Kirtistambha* Inscription of Mahārāṇā Kumbhā; verses 191-2, as cited in *HR*, II, p. 627, fn. 3. The *praśasti* was completed by Maheśa in Kumbhā's times.

7 i.e. भट्ट महेश्वरः कविवरः श्रीराजमल्लप्रभोः in verse 96 of the Inscription of V. S. 1545 cited above.

8 Inscription of V. S. 1561; cf. *HR*, II, pp. 656-57; R. C. Agrawala, "Poets of Mewar", *Nāgari Pracārīṇi Patrikā*, Hindī, Banaras, vol. 62, pp. 123-144.

9 *Raiwataka* mountain and *Jirṇadurga* have also been referred to in the Dohad Inscription of V. S. 1545 (*Ep. Indica*, XXIV, pp. 221-222) as already cited above.

pp. 321-35. The genealogical table of Maṇḍana's family may be presented as follows:—



The Jāvar Inscription comes to an end with the name of Devīdāsa (line 40) who is said to have copied the record.

The language of the existing inscription is Sanskrit with the exception of a few words of the local Mewārī dialect i.e. ए, कमठाणु (line 40)...etc. As regards orthography, the scribe has sometimes made use of ष for ख (cf. lines 5, 17), क for कृ (line 3)...etc. The engraver omitted and wrongly marked a few *mātrās* and sometimes carved तू in place of त् (lines 9-10).

The Jāvar Inscription also refers to a number of geographical places such as चित्तकूट (mod. Chittor, line 1); मेदपाट (mod. Mewār, line 27); कुम्भलगरह (mod. Kumbhalgarh, line 5); सौरठ (line 2) = सौराष्ट्र (line 19) = Southern Kāṭhīāwār; जोरग्राकार (mod. Junagarh, *op. cit.*); रैवत (line 24) = रैवतक<sup>o</sup> (line 26) = Girnār Hills; योगिनोपत्तन (line 6, modern Jāvar). As regards the name Jāvar, Dr. N. P. Chakravarti (*op. cit.*, p. 59) has remarked that "it has been evidently derived from *Jāpura* found in a few inscriptions dated in the 15th century of the *Vikrama* era or earlier. In an inscription dated *saṃvat* 1492, the place is mentioned as *Jāurapura* where the Prākṛit form *Jāpura* has been used and an additional *pura* unnecessarily added, apparently in ignorance of the original derivation of the name". The Udaipur Museum preserves a huge statue of Gaṇapati from Jāvar<sup>10</sup> and dated in V. S. 1580, during the regime of Mahārāṇā

10 Cf. N. P. Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60 for this statue.

Sangrāmasiṃha of Mewar. The 4th line of the inscription on the pedestal of this image and the Kumbhalgarh Inscription of V. S. 1517 refer to the name of this place as योगिनीपुर which should be regarded as identical with योगिनीपत्तन of the Inscription of Rāmasvāmī Temple from the same place. Jāvar is well known for its mineral wealth and it was here that Ramābāi's brother Mahārāṇā Rāyamalla of Mewar, was coronated after the assassination of M. Kumbhakarna (HR., I, p. 343). Ramā Bāi is said to have spent the last days of her life at Jāvar itself.

The legible portion<sup>11</sup> of the existing record may be presented as follows :—

- Line 1    ॐ नमः श्रीगणेश प्रसा [ <sup>12</sup>दात् | मरस्वत्यै नमः ॥ श्रीचित्रको  
(कू)टाधिपति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज-महा
- .. 2    रां(रा)णा श्रीकुम्भकर्ण पुत्री [श्रीजा]र्ण प्राकारे सोरठपतिमहारायां राय  
श्री—मंडलोक-भायां श्रीरमा(मा)बाई ए
- .. 3    प्रासाद रामस्वामि रु राम [कुण्ड] कारापिता संवत् १५५४ वर्षे  
चैत्र शुदि ७ सप्तमी रवौ म(मु)हूर्त्तं कताः (कृतम्) ॥ शुभं भवतु ।
- .. 4    श्रीमत्कुम्भनृपस्य दिग्गजरदातिकां [त] कीर्त्यं बुधेः । कन्या यादव  
वंशमंडन श्रीमंडलोक प्रिया ॥ संगतागम दुग्धसिंधु
- .. 5    जसुधास्वादे परादेवता । प्रद्युम्नं कु [रुते] राजते वनीपकवने कं न  
स्मरंतं रमा ॥१॥ श्रीमत्कुम्भलमेर (रु) दुर्ग शिष(स्व)रे दामोदर  
मंदिरं श्रीकुण्डेश्व
- .. 6    रदक्ष(क्षि)णाश्रित गिरेस्तीरे सरः सुंद[रं] श्रीमद्वारि महा [ब्धि  
सिंधु] भुवने श्रीयोगिनीपत्तने भूयः कुंडमचीकरत्किल रमा लोकत्रयेः
- .. 7    कीर्त्तये ॥२॥ श्रीकुम्भोद्भव यात्रु[धि]नियमितर्षिकंवा सुधा दोधिते ।  
निक्षेपस्त्रिदशैरशे<sup>13</sup>षण्भिया ॥ किंवाप्सरः सु(सु)दरं ॥ प्राप्तुं ।

11 The text within capital brackets has been restored with the help of the transliteration as published in the *Vira Vinoda*, II, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-58.

12 As noted in *Vira Vinoda*, II, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

13 A fragmentary piece of this slab and containing this part of the line has now been preserved in the Govt. Museum at Udaipur.

- Line 8 पौर पुरंघ्रिचंद्रमभुजद्भूमौ (मि)तलं मा[न]सं चित्रं रामशरप्रहारभयतोब्धि-  
बंह कुंडायते ॥३॥ यस्मिन्नीरं विहारि कोकमिथुनं कीडा
- „ 9 समुन्मीलिते शीताशावितरेतरे]ण नितरां विश्लेषमासाद्य च ॥ तापं  
नैव तनौविभर्त्यविरतं सोपानभित्तिस्फुरतू ( त ) स्वीयां
- „ 10 गप्रतिबिंबसंगम वशादरेपि तीरे चरतू ( त ) ॥ पानोयहारविहार  
मवरसु ( सुं ) दरोवदनं निजं प्रतिबिंबभृतमितीह निर्मलधी
- „ 11 रनोरगमंबुजं ॥ आदातुमुद्यतपा[णि]नाजलदोलने न ग[त]भ्र] मावितनोति  
कांचनकुंभपूरणमल विस्मयविभ्रमा ॥५॥
- „ 12 रसालतरुं मंजुलं पिकविनोदनादोत्कलं कांचित्कनककेतकोद्ध<sup>1</sup>तपराग-  
पिंगांचलं ॥ स शोकर सुशीतलं सुरभिवृद मं
- „ 13 दानिलं य दायम[तिनिर्मलं] जयति ती]रभूमौ (मि) तलं ॥६॥ यदो-  
यतटभूतलं हसितं कुंदपुष्पोज्ज्वलं कचिद्विकचमालतो कुसुमलोल भू
- „ 14 गंष्क[लं] ॥ कचित्सरलसारणि तरलनीरतापे ] शलं स्रवति सुरयोषितः  
किमुत नंदनादप्यलं ॥७॥ एतद्व्रित्ति तटालयेषु रुचिरोत्कीर्णैः ।
- „ 15 [ सुराणां ] गणैः कोडोपागत औव [ न ] युतोपांतर [ ? ] तैरपि ॥  
तत्तादृक्प्रतिबिंबितैरुपलसन्नागांगनासंगिभिर्मन्ये कुंडमिदं
- „ 16 रमाविरचितं लोकत्रयादद्भुतं ॥८॥ य [ द्वा ] रुणप्रतिप्रासमये समुपेत  
विबुधवृंदेभ्यः ॥ कनकदुकूल वितरणं ॥ विदधाति रमेतिलोलु
- „ 17 पतिमुराः ॥९॥ यावच्छेषाशिरस्सुशेष (ख)रपदभूतधान्यमयं मेरुमेरु-  
गिरेरुपर्युपरितो ब्रह्मादिलोकलयं ॥ धत्ते यावदमुल वा दिन म—
- „ 18 णिमाणिक्य नैराजनं तावच्चारुतरं रमाविरचितं कुंडं चिरं नंदतु ॥१०॥  
**श्रीरमावर्णनं** ॥ उन्मालदुग्गरजरोहण महोपौढप्रभालं क(कृ)ता ॥
- „ 19 सौन्दर्यामृतवाहिनी मधुसुहसाम्राज्यसर्वस्वभूः । सोराष्ट्रे श्वर-यादवान्वय-  
मणोः श्रीमंडलाकप्रभाराज्ञी चारु रमावतां वितलुते सं
- „ 20 गीतमानंददं ॥१॥ कुंभत्र( ब्र )हसुमारित कमगादुच्छिन्नतं यत्क्षितौ  
तत्प्राद्वत्य गिरीश भक्तिं परमारं (र) म्या(म्यां) रमाभारंती (रती) ॥  
मंगातभरतादिनोक्त
- „ 21 विधिना ब्र(व)ह्मकतानोपमा मंदानंदविधाय[कं] विलसति प्रोक्तासयंती-  
परं ॥२॥ नादानंदमयीवरोन्नतकं (क)रालोलोक्लसद्रक्ता रामारक्त
- „ 22 गिरीश्वर स्मरकलाशर्मोर्मिरम्योज्ज्वला । लोलां [ दो ] लित [ राजहंस-



गमनासङ्को]गिभर्तृस्तुता पद्मा मोदितमानसा विजयते बागीश्वरा  
श्रारमा ॥३॥

- Line 23 संजाता जलधेर्विवेकविधुरा धारेष्वबद्धादरा चापल्याभिरता प्रमोदमयते  
या पंकजाता स्थिता । [विद्वत्कुंभ]नृपोद्भवा गुणगणपूर्णा प्रवीणे (शा)<sup>15</sup>
- „ 24 दा स्थैर्यप्रीतिमतीति तां विजयते श्रेयोचितश्रारमा ॥४॥ राजद्रैवत-  
भूधरांतररतं श्रीकांतमाराधयत्कोतानंदित [मान]सा यदनिशं [राजद्रमा] ।
- „ 25 वलतः ॥ मेरी कुंभकृते <sup>16</sup>महोपतनय—श्रीमंडलीक-प्रिया  
श्रीदामोदर मंदिरं व्यरचयत् कैलाशशैलोज्ज्वलं ॥५॥ श्रीरस्तुः (तु) ॥  
सूत्रधार रा [मा] ।
- „ 26 अथ श्रीमहाराज श्रीमंडलीकप्रबन्धः ॥ इंदोरनिंदितकुलं बहुबाहु-  
जातवंशेषु यस्य वसतेरतुलं बभूव ॥ श्रीमंडलेद्रगिरिरैवतकाधि
- „ 27 वासो दामोदरो भवतु वः सुचिरं विभूत्यै ॥१॥ श्रीमंडलीक  
दर्शनपरितुष्टमनामहेश्वरः सुकविः ॥ श्रीमेदपाटवसतिगुणनिधिमेनं  
यथाम
- „ 28 ति स्तौति ॥२॥ आश्लिष्टः सुरविटपा संप्रति चिंतामणि [मया] कलितः ।  
लब्धः सुवर्ण शिखरी मिलिते त्वयि मंडलाधोश ॥३॥ सुरविटपिविटप  
विशालभुजदलक
- „ 29 लित विपुलमहत्फलं । कविचित्तचिंतामणि महागुण [ज]ल जन्म  
महातलं अनवरतसुरसरिदमलतम जललुलित सुराशिखरिप्रभं ॥  
कल[या]
- „ 30 मि मंडलराजमहमिहतोषमेमिहिमप्रभं ॥४॥ परिकलितः पुरुहूतो  
धननाथो नयनगोचरो रचितः ॥ साक्षात्कृता रताशस्त्वयि मिलिते]
- „ 31 मंडलाधोश ॥५॥ पुरुहूतमिवगुरुमंत्र यत्ति[तमनु]लमंगलमंडितं ॥  
धननाथमिवधनदानतोषित चंद्रमौलिमखंडितं ॥ रतिरमण
- „ 32 मिव वरयुवतिकृतनुतिमहतविषमशर [युत] परिचिंत्य मंडलराजमिह-  
मोदमगमनुव्रतं ॥६॥ अंकुं(कु)रिता शर्मलता कोरकित
- „ 33 चित्तचंपकव्रत [...] उल्लासिता तनुनलिनी मिलिते त्वयि<sup>17</sup> मंडलाधोश ॥

15 Cf. प्रवीणास्पदी in the *Vira Vinoda*, II, *op. cit.*

16 *Mahipa* perhaps refers to Mahipāla—the father of Maṇḍalika; cf. also महोपसुतमंडल—an identical phrase in line 38 of this record as already pointed above.

[७]<sup>18</sup> ॥ कलधौत वितरणातरलकर-जल-जनित शर्म सद( दं )कुरं  
जनचित्तचंपक[कु]

Line 34 सुम-संभवमधुरतर-मधुबंधरं ॥ गगनैकमणि [वि]स्फुरण पुलकित तनु-  
नलिनोदलं । अनुभूयमंडलराजमिदमपि भवति

„ 35 हृदयमनाकुलं ॥८॥ कपू( पू )रं नयनयुगे वपुषि [ सुधा र ]श्मि  
रश्मिपरिषेकः । हृदये परमानंदस्त्वयि मिलितं मंडलाधीश ॥९॥  
घनसार सार समाग

„ 36 मे [१७द्रव] लोचने हिमनिर्भ(र्क)रे । सकलं प्लुतं वपुरथ हि [महि] ॥  
म धामधामनि निर्भरे ॥ मम मनसि परमानंद संपदुदार तरमभिवर्द्धते  
नरनाथ भवति

„ 37 विलोकिते सति मंडलेश शुचिशिम (स्मि)ते ॥१०॥ सुरतश्रय नरेश  
गेहदशं मम कलयति सुरगिरिरिति यदुराजराजमान समुज्ज्वलयति ॥  
सुरपति

„ 38 रयमिति मतिरुदेति संप्रति नरनायक ॥ रतिपतिरिति [नय]नानुरक्ति-  
रुदयति दृढमायक ॥ अनुपमतममहिममहीपसुत-मंडल—सकलकला-  
कुशल

„ 39 [सह]ष्टमतिभवत्यवधि नवनिधिसंनिधिरधि[कबला][॥११॥ श्री[मेद]पा  
[ टे वरे देशे ] कुंभकर्णनृपपहे(?) क्षेत्रा<sup>21</sup>कसूतधारस्य पुत्रो मंडन  
आत्मवान् ॥१२॥

„ 40 [सूत्रधार मंडनसुत ईशार ए कमटाणु विरचितं देवीदास प्रति  
कारित]<sup>22</sup> ॥

R. C. AGRAWALA

17 The phrase त्वयि occurs after मिलिते whereas it has been wrongly published in the *Vira Vinoda*, II, *op. cit.*

18 The engraver has forgotten the numeral intended for marking the number of the seventh verse.

19 It may be read as दृक्.

20 It may be read as समुत्कलयति.

21 The reading क्षेत्राष्ट in *Vira Vinoda*, II, *op. cit.*, is quite unsatisfactory. The name of this architect was क्षेत्र or क्षेत्रार्क, popularly known as खेता in the local dialect.

22 The whole line is indistinct in the estampage now preserved in the Udaipur Museum. The original inscription of course remains in a fragmentary condition.

## A Study of the Epistolary and Documentary Literature in Sanskrit

One of the criteria for judging the degree of civilisation and culture of a society is provided by letters written by the people of that society. Letters may be of many kinds—those exchanged between the ruler and the ruled, the ruler and the dignitaries of the state, those written by the general public to their relatives, pupils or servants. While the state letters afford a glimpse into the working of the state machinery, the private letters reflect the inner minds of the people in a way that is rare in any other writing. Thus, for one who wants to have a complete picture of the cultural outlook of a people, letters written by them are an important source.

Indian civilisation and culture have many aspects. Attempts have been made to study the cultural conditions of India through the ages with the help of different sources—literary, epigraphical, numismatic, etc. But, little effort has so far been made to tap the epistolary source for this purpose. In the present paper, a modest attempt will be made to draw the attention of Indologists to this much neglected source of information about Indian culture.

Epistles as a means of religious admonition and moral exhortation appear to have been in vogue in India in remote ages. Of such epistles, the following have been preserved to us:—

- (1) *Mahārāja-kanika-lekha*—ascribed to Mātṛcitra,
- (2) *Subhṛtlekha* of Nāgārjuna,
- (3) *Śiṣyalekha-dharma-kāvya* of Candragomin.

The first of these works, consisting of 85 stanzas, purports to be the author's reply declining king Kanika's invitation to his court. The author has been identified, by F. W. Thomas, with Mātṛceṣa and Kanika with the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniska. If this identification is correct, then the work may be assigned approximately to the first-second century A.D.

The second work,<sup>1</sup> in 123 verses, is an epistle sent by the Buddhist philosopher, Nāgārjuna, to his friend, king Udayana. It seeks to embody, in a nutshell, the principal tenets of Buddhism in an impressive way. Nāgārjuna is believed to have lived in Vidarbha (= modern Berar) sometime between 300 and 400 A.D.

The last work,<sup>2</sup> in 114 verses, is addressed to a prince, Ratnakīrti by name, infatuated with power and pelf, in order to bring him round to the path of virtue. The author is generally believed to have lived in the fifth century A.D.

These three works constitute a literary *genre* rather than furnishing specimens of letters current among the general public.

Hitherto we have come across only three<sup>3</sup> works dealing with letters in the real sense of the term. They are as follows:—

- (1) *Patra-kaumudī* attributed to Vararuci,
- (2) *Lekha-paddhati* of unknown authorship,
- (3) *Yāvana-paripāṭi-anukrama* of Dalapati Rāya.

The above works are all written in Sanskrit.

#### *Patra-kaumudī*<sup>4</sup>

The *Patra-kaumudī* is written mostly in verse, a part of it being composed in prose.

This work is associated with the name of Vararuci. But, as

1 Translated into English, by H. Wenzel, from the Tibetan version in the Journal of Pāli Text Society, London, 1886, pp. 6-32.

2 Published in the memoirs of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, IV.

3 The work, *Likhanāvalī* (India Govt. MS.), attributed to Vidyāpati, is reported to be on forms of letter-writing. As it has not been possible to procure this work, an account of its contents cannot be given here.

A *Patra-praśasti-kāvya* is mentioned in the *Catalogus Catalogorum*, II, 70.

4 The following MSS. are hitherto known to exist:—

- (i) No. 71 of the *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in Mithilā* by Jayaswal.
- (ii) No. 72 of do.

at least six Vararucis<sup>5</sup> are known till now, we are not in a position to identify the author. In an introductory verse of one of the MSS., the author is said to have composed the work at the direction of the famous (*kīrti-sindhu*) Vikramāditya. This, too, does not help us in the exact identification of Vararuci; because the title 'Vikramāditya' is known to have been assumed by many a king of India.<sup>6</sup> From a verse it appears that Prakrit was still in use when the author composed his work.<sup>7</sup>

There is no means of ascertaining the part of India where the work originated.

Coming to the contents we find that the author, after salutation to gods and goddesses, sets forth the object of the work, viz., to lay down rules regarding the marking of letters, and other things connected with letters to various persons—king, minister, learned man, preceptor, husband, wife, father, son, recluse, servant, enemy and others. The topics to be dealt with by him are stated as dyeing of letters, size, mode of folding, qualifications of the scribe, manner of composing

[Also noticed in *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Pt. I, Pt. III;

*Notices of MSS.* by R. L. Mitra, Pt. I,

*Catalogue of MSS. in Calcutta Sanskrit College*, vol. VI]

- (iii) No. 72 A of do.
- (iv) No. 72 B of do.
- (v) No. 72 C of do.
- (vi) A fragmentary copy found at Rajshahi Govt. College, Rajshahi, East Pakistan.
- (vii) MS. No. 7203 (3329) of the *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. in India Office*, vol. II, Pt. II, by A. B. Keith.

N. B.—An edition of this work, with an introduction and English translation by the present writer, is awaiting publication in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Poona.

5 See *History of Sanskrit Literature* by Das Gupta and De, and *History of Sanskrit Literature* by Keith.

6 For the Vikramāditya legend, see Das Gupta and De : *History of Sanskrit Lit.*, pp. 4-5, fn. 1.

7 *bhāṣāyaṃ saṃskṛtenaiva kuśalaṃ vilikhet sudhiḥ /  
tataḥ śubhāśubbhāṃ vārtāṃ saṃskṛtaiḥ prākṛtaistathā||*

letters, arrangement of words, cutting the ends of letters, eulogistic words, writing of the word 'Śrī' etc. The modest object of the author is to lay down the rules about these topics in a nutshell (*samāśena*); this seems to hint at the existence, in his time, of elaborate works on letter-writing or a protracted procedure necessitating the composition of a compendium.

The letter is to be dyed with hues like golden, silvery, etc. The best letter will be one cubit and six fingers long, the medium one cubit and the ordinary letter as long as the clenched hand.

The piece of paper, used as a letter, will have three folds. The message is to be written on the last portion leaving out the upper two folds.

The royal scribe must be qualified as follows: —

- (1) Experienced in counsel,
- (2) Versed in politics and science of morality,
- (3) Conversant with various scripts and languages,
- (4) Meritorious,
- (5) Having knowledge of peace, war and royal duties,
- (6) Always wishing well of the king,
- (7) Truthful, self-restrained, discriminating, straightforward.

The scribe, being ordered by the king to write a letter, will prepare a draft in consultation with a learned man. The draft being approved by the king, the scribe will prepare the letter in its final form.

In a letter, first of all, an *aṅkuśa*<sup>8</sup> mark, with the figure '7' below and a dot inside, should be drawn as an auspicious sign. This is to be followed by the word 'svasti'<sup>9</sup>. Next will be written 'Śrī'<sup>10</sup> to precede the mode of address appropriate to the person written to. In the next place, one should enquire about the welfare (*kuśala*) of the addressee in Sanskrit. Then the

8 "A hook, esp. an elephant-driver's hook"—(M. Wms.)

9 Meaning 'fortune', 'success', 'prosperity'.

10 This word, meaning 'fortune', 'beauty' etc., has been prefixed to Indian names through ages. It is used even to-day.

message should be written in Sanskrit or Prakrit. In the space below will be written a verse proclaiming the fame of, and causing delight to, the addressee. The next thing to be written is expressions like 'kimadhikam' (what more) etc. In conclusion, a verse dealing with the despatch of the letter and containing the date, month etc. should be written.<sup>11</sup> From the top of the letter-paper, a space, measuring six fingers, should be left out. Below this space, a circular mark of *kastūrī*<sup>12</sup> and *kuṅkuma*<sup>13</sup>, resembling the moon's orb, should be put on a royal despatch. The mark should be of saffron alone for ministers, sandal for learned men, preceptor, father, son and anchorites, of vermilion for husbands, lac-dye for wives, red sandal-paste for servants and of blood for enemies.

The knowledge of the correct forms of letters has been highly praised, and the royal scribe is said to attain fame by writing royal despatches in conformity with the rules laid down in the *Sāstra*; non-observance of these rules is said to subject him to great calumny.

The modes of carrying letters have been rigidly fixed. On the head should be carried a royal despatch, a preceptor's letter and that from a Brāhmaṇa, a recluse and the husband. Forehead is the proper place for ministerial communications, and the centre of the chest for letters from the wife, son and friend. A letter from a foe should be carried on the throat.

The royal scribe, having saluted the letter, should place it before the king in council with its tip turned towards the east. Having opened it, he should read it twice over silently and then read it aloud. A verse, in this connexion, provides for the confidential reading of such letters to the king before reading them out in the council. A letter, containing evil tidings, must not be read out in the council.<sup>14</sup>

11 This is probably to contain also the name of the writer, because there is no other provision for this essential item.

12 Musk,

13 Saffron.

14 It is not clear whether or not these rules relate to inward letters or outward ones or to both.

A letter to the king should commence with words like 'mahārājādhirāja' (paramount sovereign), 'dāna-śauṇḍa' (expert in gifts) 'saccarita' (one of good conduct), etc. One to the minister should commence with a statement of his qualities. One should begin a letter to a learned man by stating the times of the writer's saluting him, and by referring to his proficiency in the Śāstras. A letter to the preceptor should begin with a reference to his erudition and to the eight-limbed obeisance (*sāṣṭāṅga prañipāta*) by the writer. That to a husband is to commence with words indicative of his great merit, salutation by the wife and words like *prāṇa-priya* (dear to heart). One to the wife should begin with words like 'prāṇa-priyā,' 'sādhvī' (chaste) and 'saccaritā' (of good character). A letter to father is to be commenced with the word '*prabhu*' (master), salutation and words like 'saccarita,' and that to a recluse with the words '*sarva-vāñchā-vinirmukta*' (free from all desires) and '*sarva-śāstrārtha-pāraga*' (versed in all Śāstras). In letters to persons in general, having at first written the name of the addressee, one should write words befitting him.

As regards the times of repeating the word 'Śrī,' they vary with the different kinds of addressees. To the preceptor it should be repeated six times, to the husband five, to a servant two, to a foe four and to a friend three. There should be only one Śrī before the name of the son and that of the wife.

The metrical portion of the *Patra-kaumudī* ends here. The remaining part, written in prose, deals with the different kinds of *praśastis* (praise and mode of address) to be used in the letters meant for different persons. The *praśastis* are too lengthy to be reproduced here. Hence, we shall simply indicate the principal features of the *praśastis*. The *praśasti* for a king should contain extravagant references to his suzerainty, prowess, generosity, learning, etc. The eulogy of a minister stresses his efficiency, and that of a preceptor lavishly speaks of his devotion to gods, proficiency in the various branches of learning, observance of rites and customs appropriate to his stage of life etc. The *praśasti* of a husband should emphasise his great and exemplary love, and that of a wife should speak of her deep attachment and ex-



quisite beauty. In eulogising the father, the son should set forth his own deep regard and obedience. To the son the father should mention the former's learning, good qualities and his being an ornament to the family. To a recluse one should write lavishly about the former's detachment to worldly objects, great learning and possession of many disciples. The praise of a servant consists in stressing his devotion to gods, protection of cattle and efficiency in service. To praise an enemy, his heroism should be spoken of. To a wise man, one should write about his generosity and great merits accrued from the worship of gods, etc.

From the foregoing survey of the contents of the work, it is abundantly clear that, at the time of the author, letter-writing was an art that had to be mastered. If, in this work, royal despatches have received more attention than letters of private individuals, it is not surprising, because, at the outset, the author says clearly that he undertook the composition of the work at the instance of King Vikramāditya. It is interesting to note that the Indian way of writing letters even to-day, in so far as it has not been affected by Western influence, remains substantially the same as is laid down in the *Patra-kaumudī*.

### *Lekha-paddhati*<sup>15</sup>

The *Lekha-paddhati* is written in prose with verses interspersed.

The work is of unknown authorship and uncertain date. From the palaeographical evidence of the extant MSS., the editors conclude that two of them must have been copied sometime in the 16th century A.D. The MS., originally belonging to the Deccan College, Poona, now deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, is dated Samvat 1536 (= 1480 A.D.). From this, the lower terminus of the date of the

15 Ed. C. D. Dalal and G. K. Shrigondekar, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda, 1925. In some MSS., it is styled *Lekha-pañcāśikā* although the number of *lekhas* varies from 54 to 61. In one MS., the number is only 25 (vide *Lekha-paddhati*, p. xi).

original work may perhaps be placed in the earlier part of the 15th century A.D.

In some of the model documents, the years Saṃvat 802, 1288, 1332, 1399, 1407 and 1533 are mentioned. These are probably the dates of the original documents in the royal archives utilised by the compiler of the work.

The names of some of the kings, mentioned in the work, definitely refer to Gujarat. Besides, it contains many vernacular words still current in the Gujarati language. Moreover, mention is made of the deity Somanātha of Gujarat and also some localities which are definitely known to have formed parts of Gujarat. These facts warrant the assumption of the Gujarati provenance of the *Lekha-paddhati*.

The work possesses historical importance inasmuch as it contains the names of many personages and places. The names of the most notable persons and localities are given below.

#### *Persons*<sup>16</sup>

Ajayapāla, Aliga, Cāmuṇḍadeva, Durlabhadeva, Jayasiṃha, Karṇadeva, Kumārapāla, Lāvaṇyadeva, Lāvaṇyaprasāda, Mūladeva, Narasiṃha, Nāgapāla, Pratāpasīṃha, Riṇamalladeva, Sāraṅgadeva, Siṃhaṇḍadeva, Vallabhadeva, Vijayasiṃha.

#### *Places*<sup>17</sup>

Anahillapattana, Āśāpalli, Bāluā, Jāmbūgrāma, Lāṭapalli, Pañcāla, Pattana, Prabhāsa, Śākambharī, Sītāpur, Ujjayinī, Vardhamāna, Yoginīpura.

Another point of historical interest of the work is that, while giving models of treaties, the author refers to certain events

16 For a fuller list, see *Lekha-paddhati*, p. 129. Of these persons, the most prominent rulers of Gujarat were Jayasiṃha, Karṇadeva, Kumārapāla, Lāvaṇyaprasāda (Lavaṇaprasāda:). See M. S. Commissariat: *History of Gujarat*, 1938.

17 Ibid., p. 130. Of these places Anahillapattana (= Anhilvad Patan) was the ancient capital of Gujarat. Other prominent places in Gujarat were Āśāpalli (= Ashaval) Prabhāsa (= Prabhāsa Patan), Vardhamāna-pura. See M. S. Commissariat, *op. cit.*

which were presumably either contemporaneous with him or still fresh in the memory of the people.

Coming to the contents of the work, we find models of royal proclamations and despatches, land-grants, treaties, sale and mortgage deeds, bonds of slavery and various other documents as well as of letters of private individuals. Among private letters, we find, for example, models of those exchanged between the teacher and pupil, the husband and wife, the father and son, the master and servant, father-in-law or mother-in-law and son-in-law, and between friends, brothers and secret lovers. In the letters between the husband and wife, it is interesting to note that different forms are prescribed for different moods. The husband in anger will not write to his wife in the same way as one in normal mood will do. The same rule applies to the wife too. The contented wife usually sends message to the effect that she has been doing domestic duties with the utmost care, that she misses her husband very much and that she expects him to be back soon. The indignant wife, however, complains that the husband's overstay, presumably caused by his love-making with another lady, has caused severe strain on her slender purse and that, if he fails to return early, she will make for her father's house along with the children leaving his household to its fate.

The *Lekha-paddhati* throws light on the political and social conditions of the time and place to which the author belonged. We shall try to glean, within a brief compass, as much information as possible from a perusal of the models of the letters stated above.

Each administrative unit used to be governed by the king's representative designated as *daṇḍanāyaka*<sup>18</sup> his authority being respected even by the most exalted person of that region.

Villages used to be granted to Brāhmaṇas. The deeds of grant, containing the names of the donor and the donee as well as the schedule of the subject of gift, the date, directives to the

18 See *Lekha-paddhati*, p. 2, line 4.

heirs of the donor and the general public not to disturb the peaceful possession by the donee, were called *śāsana-patra*. Such land-grants were either *brahmadāya* (to be enjoyed by a Brāhmaṇa for his own sake) or *dharmadāya* or *devadāya* (to be utilised for the worship of a deity).

Each village appears to have been placed in charge of a *Rakṣapāla* whose function it was to protect this village from internal disorders of minor types (*kṣudra-upadrava*) and also to supply a fixed quota of men for the infantry and cavalry of the king.<sup>19</sup> For his maintenance, he would get a fixed area of land.

In the proclamation, called *deśottāra*,<sup>20</sup> all the officers concerned, viz., the accountant (*mahantaka*), the police officer (*bṛhadvājika*), the revenue officer (*biṇḍipaka*) etc. were ordered to allow certain merchants to pass through a specified region with the specified cargo without being interfered with for purposes of interrogation and tax-payment.

There were certain villages the rate of whose revenue was fixed, while a lump sum was determined as revenue for other villages. These two classes of villages were called *samakara* and *uddha* respectively.<sup>21</sup>

Fines appear to have been realised from certain kinds of offenders. In case of heavy fines, there was provision for payment by instalments.<sup>22</sup>

Some people, in consideration of some good done by them to the state, used to get houses on perpetual lease. They had to pay fixed rent on stated dates. The damages, subsequent to the execution of the lease, had to be repaired at their own costs. The deeds in respect of such leases were called *gupta-pattaka*.<sup>23</sup>

Merchants helping the state with money appear to have been given lands to be enjoyed on payment of rent at a favourable rate. A deed accompanying such a gift was called *uttarākṣara*.<sup>24</sup>

19 The royal charter on p. 7 of the work demands of the *Rakṣapāla* 100 foot soldiers and 20 horsemen.

20 *Lekha-paddhati*, p. 8.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

24 *Ibid.*

An accounts officer, under orders of transfer, had to make over the charge of the seals, ledgers, the day-book and the amount of revenue collected, before leaving the station. Orders of transfer were called *nirūpaṇā*.<sup>25</sup>

Regular sale deeds had to be executed confirming the sale of horses.<sup>26</sup>

A merchant had to take a certificate (*tippanaka*) specifying the merchandise carried by him. The officers *en route* had to realise from him *dāna* (=road cess or customs duty?) accordingly against a receipt (*prati-tippanaka*).<sup>27</sup> Similar to *tippanaka* was the *mārgākṣara* or a certificate stating the number of a merchant's loaded carts as well as the amount of duty payable by him on the way.<sup>28</sup>

Coming to judicial procedure, we find that the plaintiff had to file the plaint (*bbāṣā*) first. Then the defendant submitted his reply (*uttara*). In the absence of eye-witnesses or direct evidence, no punishment was inflicted on the accused. The judgment (*nyāya-vāda*) contained the date, month and year of the decision, the case in brief and finally the verdict. In trying cases connected with one's character, the court appears to have been guided by a council of learned men; this is something like the present-day trial by jury. Ordeals (*divya*) seem to have been resorted to, on appropriate occasions, by the accused in a court of law. *Dharma-cīrikā*<sup>29</sup> contains the mode of invoking deities for declaring the guilt or innocence of the accused.

Those in charge of rural administration were informed by the king of the rates of rent in respect of the different kinds of lands, viz., *samakara* (with rate of rent fixed permanently), *uddhakhila* (fallow table-land), *pocilabbūmi* (soft land) etc. The amount of fines for specified crimes, committed in rural areas, appears to have been fixed and made known in the above manner. Such crimes were breaking the head (*mastaka-sphoṭana*), defiance of order, theft of hide, encroachment of land, etc.

25 *Lekha-paddhati*, p. 12.

26 See *Aśva-vikraya paṭṭaka*, *Ibid.*, p. 13.

27 *Lekha-paddhati*, p. 14.

28 *Ibid.*

29 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

The system of land-tenure and conditions of tenancy are clearly reflected in the *guṇapatra* or deed of land-lease said to have been granted to the cultivators of Pañcāla.<sup>30</sup> From this we gather the following information: —

- (1) Lands were leased out either at fixed rates of rent or at lump rent.
- (2) Rent was payable in such instalments as indicated in the document of each cultivator.
- (3)  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the agricultural produce was the king's levy, and  $\frac{1}{3}$  was to be enjoyed by the cultivator who was to take the entire straw.
- (4) *Vrīhi* (paddy), *Ciṇā* (peas ?), *Godhūma* (wheat) and *Yava*<sup>31</sup> (barley) were the principal crops grown by cultivators.
- (5) A special tax levied on the thrashing floor had to be paid while the corns were actually thrashed.
- (6) Carpenters, blacksmiths, potters along with three others,<sup>32</sup> were the principal artisans in the region called Pañcāla.
- (7) An unspecified quantity of corns had to be presented to the *pañca-kula* and the superintendent of the thrashing floor.
- (8) The chief farmers were debarred from ploughing the lands granted to Brāhmaṇas, deities or other persons as a token of royal favour.
- (9) The cultivators, found guilty of dishonesty in the sharing of grains, were to be warned at first; repeated dishonest behaviour in this respect rendered the offender liable to be removed from the village.
- (10) The land, thrashing floor, the cattle and the crops of the cultivator who had fled away were to be escheated to the state.

30 *Lekha-paddhati*, p. 18.

31 The spelling in the text is *yava* which is perhaps an error.

32 Not enumerated in the text.

- (11) The village-protector did not entertain any complaint lodged by a single person; only a complaint by at least four cultivators, appearing with the *guṇa-patra*, was cognisable.

The practice of the people borrowing money by pledging cattle seems to have been in vogue in the society.<sup>33</sup> In such transactions, there were sureties responsible for repayment in the event of failure on the part of the borrower. For unsecured loans, the debtor had to furnish in favour of the creditor what was called *bastākṣara* corresponding, in some respects, to the hand-note of to-day.

The work testifies to the system of lending grains on condition of return within a stipulated time along with interest equivalent to one-fourth of the grains borrowed. Such transactions also required sureties.<sup>34</sup>

Lands of doubtful ownership were called *ḍoḥalikā*. These were taken over by the state. The rightful owner, however, could get them released on furnishing satisfactory evidence. Such a release was known as *ḍoḥalikā-mukti*.<sup>35</sup>

Villages granted on certain conditions appear to have been annexed by the government when those conditions were violated. Such seizures were known as *vyāśedha*.<sup>36</sup>

A king in war used to seek the help of his ally by writing a letter to the latter's minister for peace and war (*sāndhivigrahika*).

An interesting custom was that the king used to send formal orders to the prince's wife strictly to observe certain rules of conduct during the absence of the prince. Her chief duties in such periods consisted in getting out food grains from stores, feeding the maid-servants and dependants, etc. For her were forbidden the sight of another man (*para-puruṣa*), visit to others' houses and going out of the palace, etc. It is rather curious that the prince's wife, the daughter-in-law of the king, should be formally ordered to do and not to do certain acts.

33 *Lekha-paddhati*, p. 19.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

36 *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

In mortgage deeds relating to houses (*grhāḍḍāṇaka-patra*),<sup>37</sup> the mortgagor made certain stipulations of which the following were most important : —

- (1) Any damage to the house due to circumstances beyond human control, e.g., fire, excessive rainfall, etc. during the mortgage period would be repaired by the mortgagor at his own cost.
- (2) In the event of the mortgagee's extreme financial stringency, before the expiry of the mortgage period, he can realise the money from the mortgagor, or on his failure, sell off the mortgage deed, with the mortgagor's knowledge, to another person who was to be a new mortgagee.

From the deed of pledge relating to horses (*āśvāḍḍāṇaka-patra*)<sup>38</sup> we learn that money used to be borrowed against horses too. The debtor had to bear all expenses incurred in connexion with the fodder and medical treatment of the horses. In the event of the debtor's failure to repay the money within the stipulated time, the creditor was at liberty to sell off the horses, with the debtor's consent, and to realise the balance, if any, from the sureties.

Interesting are the sale deeds in respect of female slaves. These documents unmistakably bear out the vogue of slavery and the sale of female slaves in the open market. It should be noted, however, that there is no mention of male slaves in the work. Good complexion and young age (*śoḍaśa-vārṣikī*) were some of the qualifications of good slave women. The following were some of the duties to be performed by the slave at her master's house :—

Cutting and pounding things, sweeping and cleaning the house, gathering fuel, carrying water, removing excretions, milching cows, buffaloes and goats, churning curd, weeding out grains in cornfields.



The slave was provided with food and clothing by the master. But, if any of her relations, including the husband, claimed ownership over her, and prevented her from doing her duty, the master had the right of restraining him. If necessary, he could beat him away. The slave-woman, even if beaten, was advised in the bond not to commit suicide; this advice is a clear indication of the persecution to which slaves were usually subjected.

There was another class of female slaves who offered themselves as slaves (*svayamāgata*). Such slaves had to execute bonds in favour of their masters. The circumstances compelling her to adopt this means of livelihood are stated to have been famine, dire poverty, oppression by *mlecchas* and desertion by relatives. Such slaves had to promise that they would never seek redemption even when her youthful charm might attract a lover.

*Gardabha-patra* appears to have been a bond, executed by a Brāhmaṇa facing a trial in a law court, to the effect that if, as a result of the trial, he would resort to death nobody excepting himself would be responsible for it.

*Śīla-patra* is the name of a guarantee of good conduct furnished by parties to a minor dispute to be settled by the councillors (*sabbāsads*) of the king.

The Brāhmaṇas of a particular village sometimes executed an agreement (*samaya-patra*)<sup>39</sup> for mutual help against oppression by a miscreant.

Two kings sometimes entered into a treaty of non-aggression against each other and of mutual help against a hostile power.

A curious system of divorce appears to have obtained at the time of the author. The *dhaukana-patra*<sup>40</sup> (permission for divorce) hints at the system of the father getting his daughter released, with royal consent, from her husband who was disgusted with her.

A sort of outlaw was condemned by the king. It was declared that, for his offences, none of his relatives would be responsible. With him there was to be no connexion of his

39 *Lekha-paddhati*, p. 51.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

relatives even in अशौच caused by birth and death. Such a royal declaration was called *kṛṣṇākṣara*.<sup>41</sup>

A letter inviting the relatives to attend the marriage ceremony was known as *kuṅkuma-patrikā* probably because it was dyed with *kuṅkuma* (saffron). The custom of marking such a letter with dots, usually five, of vermilion still prevails at least among the Hindus of Bengal. It is interesting to note that the invitation, as in modern times, was extended not only to the relatives themselves but also to their *kuṭumbas* or members of the household.

The fact that the model of a letter from a secret lady-love (*gupta-priyā*) to her lover has found place in the *Lekha-paddhati* seems to hint at the prevalence of such clandestine love-making in the society.

Men living abroad appear to have been ever anxious for the chastity of their wives living at home. The model letters from husbands to their wives reveal that the former, before leaving the house, used to leave definite instructions with the latter regarding the manner in which they should behave during the absence of their husbands. The wives must carefully guard against scandals about their character likely to be spread by disreputable women.<sup>42</sup> The chief fault of wives causing annoyance to their husbands was extravagance. The fact that models of letters from such annoyed husbands admonishing their spendthrift wives are given in the work tends to vouch for the common occurrence of such lapses on the part of the wives. From such letters we may assume that the women in the society, reflected in the work, had little liberty in domestic economy where the husband played the rôle not of the partner of the wife but of the supreme authority.

41 *Lekha-paddhati*, p. 53.

42 Cf. *yathā gatāyāta-kulaṭikā-prabhṛtijano bahir-aprasiddhiṃ nāropayati tathā-nuṣṭheyam*.—*Ibid.*, p. 64.

Polygamy along with the quarrel among the co-wives appears to have been prevalent in the society. A husband abroad writes to his younger brother requesting him to compose the differences between his sisters-in-law instead of taking sides.

*Yāvana-paripāṭī-anukrama*<sup>43</sup>

The *Yāvana-paripāṭī-anukrama* purports to be a series of models of letters issued by Muslim rulers.

The author introduces himself as Dalapati Rāya. He calls himself a *paricāraka* (attendant) of one Mādhavendra who is said to have been an overlord of many a king. The author says that he studied Sanskrit as well as Islamic lore, mixed with learned people, and waited upon Hindu and Mleccha kings. He further states that he undertook the work at the instance of his spiritual preceptor, Brajabhūṣaṇa Śarmā. His father appears to have been an employee under a Muslim ruler. From the fact that the work opens with the invocation of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, the author seems to have been a Vaiṣṇava by faith.

The date of the work is difficult to determine with any degree of certainty. From the internal evidence, we learn that the author's patron was one Mādhavendra Siṃha. But, of this Mādhava we know nothing. One thing is, however, significant, and deserves our close attention. On two occasions, the author mentions the Vikrama era 1820 in the models of letters set forth by him. Since this particular year has been repeated, one would feel inclined to suppose that this was the year in which the author compiled the work.<sup>44</sup> If this assumption be correct, we may assign the work roughly to the year 1764 A D., that is to say, a few years after the battle of Plassey.

43 MS. No. <sup>409</sup> of 1882-83 New No. 33, belonging to Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The same work appears to have been called *Prāsaṁsi-ratnākara* by the editors of the *Lekha-paddhati* (Vide Appendix II of that book.) Aufrecht, in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Pt. II, mentions a *Patra-prāsaṁsi* under Dalapati Roy.

44 The possibility of this having been the date of the original records, consulted by the compiler, cannot also be precluded.

The question of the provenance of the work is as difficult as, if not more difficult than, that of its date. That the work must have been composed somewhere outside Bengal seems certain; because, in a royal despatch, the *Vartmapāla* (officer-in-charge of roads) is directed not to disturb the merchant *Dhanapāla* who is proceeding towards *Vaṅga*.

The work opens with the invocation of Lord Kṛṣṇa and his consort Rādhā. Then the author gives an account of his personal life and of the genesis of the work. The work consists of seven chapters each being called an *adbhikāra*.<sup>45</sup> In the first chapter, the author at first eulogises, in the usually extravagant manner, the paramount ruler (*sārvabhauma*) Mādhavasīmha. Then is described the royal court with all its paraphernalia.

The second chapter opens with the threefold classification of letters as (1) containing a message (*sandēśātmake*), (2) embodying legal matters (*vyavahārātmake*) and (3) Royal directives (*nideśātmake*). The first kind of letters is said to convey some message of joy or sorrow, of something to be done or abjured. The second kind is intended to settle some dispute, and the third class of letters embodies some royal directive. The first class of letters again is sub-divided into: —

- (a) *Uttama*—written to kings, preceptors or other respectable persons,
- (b) *Madhyama*—written to one equal in merits,
- (c) *Avama*—written to servants, pupils or sons.

The general rule is that, in the letters of the *sandēśātmake* type, the *tithi*, day, month, year and the time of writing and the place from which they are written should be mentioned besides enquiries about the welfare of the addressees. In the *uttama* variety of letters, the writer should set forth words expressive of his modesty, salutation and devotion etc. to the addressees. In the *madhyama* type, he should use words indicative of his love, anxiety etc. for the addressee. In the *avama* class of letters, he should convey blessings, favours etc. The author

45 The fourth chapter is, however, called *adhyāya*.

incidentally mentions the practice, in some cases, of sealing the letters with lac. Communications and deeds about debts, pledges, sureties, witnesses, sale, gift, etc. are included within the category of *vyavahāra* class of letters. Royal directives to the heads of various departments, e. g., the judge, the officer-in-charge of the boundary and of villages, etc. are called *nideśa* letters.

The third chapter, a fairly lengthy one, is devoted to the description of models of letters of the *sandēśa* type. In the first part of this chapter, models of royal despatches are only given. The addressees and the purport of the letters written to them are set forth below : —

- (1) An equal king—a letter to strengthen ties of friendship.
- (2) The prince who has turned a rebel—a letter to win him over by salutary advice.
- (3) King's representative employed to fight the enemy.
- (4) Minister.
- (5) Leader of masses—to help the king in restoring peace and security disturbed by incursions of enemies.
- (6) A person expecting royal favour.
- (7) A businessman—letter assuring him of royal assistance.
- (8) A *digīśa* (officer-in-charge of regions in a particular direction?)—letter to mete out justice to people.
- (9) A wicked leader of masses—letter asking him to refrain from oppressing villagers.

In the second part of the third chapter are given models of letters to be written to a friend on different occasions, e.g., reply to a friend's ordinary letter, reply to the friend's letter of invitation to marriage of the latter's son, a letter consoling the friend in his bereavement, etc.

Chapter IV of the work is devoted to models of letters of the *vyavahāra* type.

Chapter V deals with models of letters of the *nideśa* type.

Chapter VI contains the various modes of address to be used in letters to different persons, e.g., the king, king's representative, Minister, General, Superintendent of stores (*śālāpati*), Superinten-

dent of fire (*analādhyakṣa*), ambassador, priest, scribe, spiritual preceptor, parents, a senior friend, a junior friend, elder sister, younger sister, husband, wife, son, a learned man, servant, merchant, physician, one versed in the Tantras, an astrologer, a palmist, poet, an interpreter of omens and portents, one versed in the Purāṇas, logician, etc.

Finally, in chapter VII, the author gives us the names of various royal departments as well as the designations of the officers in charge of various departments. The designations of some such officers are given below<sup>46</sup> :—

- (1) Wazir (Arabic)—Minister of state.
- (2) Diwān (Persian)—Chief officer of state; Minister, Finance Minister.
- (3) Bakshi (Persian)—Paymaster; commander-in-chief.
- (4) Koṭhāri (Hindi)—Store-keeper.
- (5) Wakil (Arabic)—Pleader, attorney, counsellor.
- (6) Munshi (Arabic)—Scribe.
- (7) Nāzir (Arabic)—Superviser; inspector.
- (8) Mirbahar (Persian)—Admiral; collector of port duty.
- (9) Mir Imārat (Persian-Arabic)—Chief or leader of government.
- (10) Dāroga (Persian)—Inspector of police.
- (11) Kotowāl (Persian)—Chief police officer in a town or city.
- (12) Foujdār (Arabic)—Superintendent of military force in a district.
- (13) Qāzī (Arabic)—Muhammadan magistrate or law officer; judge.
- (14) Mufti (Arabic)—Muhammadan jurist or law officer; expounder of Muhammadan law.
- (15) Qilādār (Arabic)—Governor or commandant of a fort.
- (16) Mirmanzil (Persian)—Quartermaster; general.

46 For the English rendering of the terms, the writer is grateful to his colleague, Prof. Asok Bhattacharya, Lecturer in Hindi, Darjeeling Govt. college. The languages, to which the terms belong, have been shown in a bracket against each of them.

The names of some of the royal apartments are given below :—

- (1) Guslkhānā (Arabic-Persian)—Bathroom.
- (2) Kitābkhānā (Do) —Library.  
[Kutubkhānā?]
- (3) Taswīrkhānā (Do) —Picture-room.
- (4) Dabāikhānā (Hindi)—Drug-store.
- (5) Mewākhānā (Persian)—Fruit-store.
- (6) Modīkhānā (Hindi)—Store-house; pantry.
- (7) Riqābkhānā (Arabic-Persian)—Dwelling place of slaves or servants.
- (8) Bāwarcīkhānā (Turkish-Persian)—Kitchen.
- (9) Langar (Persian)—Public kitchen.
- (10) Tosākkhānā (Persian)—Wardrobe; store-room.
- (11) Rangkhānā—(?) (Hindi)—House of paints, enjoyment(?).
- (12) Jawāhīrkhānā (Arabic-Persian)—Store of jewels.
- (13) Farrāshkhānā (Arabic-Persian)—Place where carpets, etc. are kept.
- (14) Astbal (Arabic)—Stable.
- (15) Filkhānā (Persian)—Elephant-stall.
- (16) Rathakhānā (Hindi)—Place where chariots are kept.
- (17) Pālkhānā (Hindi)—Place where palanquins are kept.
- (18) Chirāgkhānā (Persian)—House of lamps, lights, candles.
- (19) Masālkhānā (Arabic-Persian)—House of torches.
- (20) Daftarkhānā (Persian)—Office; counting house.
- (21) Sikārkhānā (Persian)—House where materials for hunting are kept.
- (22) Koshakhānā (Sanskrit-Persian)—Treasury (?).
- (23) Kārkhānā (Persian)—Factory.

It should be noted that the names of the above officers and departments are given in the language actually used by the Muslims, but they are described in Sanskrit. In the latter part of the last chapter are enumerated the various artisans and craftsmen living in the city. Next is set forth the means of measuring cloths, etc. and of examining horses, jewels etc. Finally, we get the names of the various administrative divisions of the land, viz.,

*Subā, Sirkar, Mouzā, Bandar, Durga, Parganā* etc, as well as the designations of those in charge of administration. Of such officers in charge, mention may be made of Caudhuri, Kānungo, Āmin, Khajānci, Tahbildār, etc.

## APPENDIX I

Form of a letter according to the *Patra-kaumudī*.

(1)	
(2)	
	(3) स्वस्तिश्री
	(4)
	(5)

- (1) Frist fold.
- (2) Second fold.
- (3) *Aṅkuśa* mark.
- (4) A verse proclaiming the addressee's fame and expressing the writer's love for him.
- (5) A verse containing the date, month (and perhaps also the name of the writer and of the place from which he writes).



## APPENDIX II

### *Specimens of some Praśastis.*

#### 1. To a king.

- (i) स्वस्ति.....प्रचण्डभुजदण्ड..... प्रार्थितानुकम्पासुधासंपातानवरतविद्वद्-  
दारिद्र्यविद्रावण....मंचितयशोमृणालजालभूपालकुलतिलश्रीयुतमहाराजा-  
धिराजेषु..... —*Patra-kaumudī*.

- (ii) स्वस्ति श्रीमत्प्रवलतरहयगजरथपदातिबलप्रतापनिर्जितप्रचण्डप्रोद्गडाराति  
.....सुधांशुदाधितिधाराधवलयशःपूरपूरितदिङ्मण्डलेषु.....विस्तारित-  
सुनिपुणनीतिप्रकारसमावर्जितानेकविषयाधिपप्रणत मौलिमुकुटमाणिक्य-  
मरीचिचयचंचितचरणारविन्देषु । दानवारप्रवाहविष्णवितविद्वन्मण्डली-  
दारिद्र्यदुःखगणेषु etc. —*Yavana-paripāṭi-anukrama*.

#### 2. To the master.

स्वस्ति । यथास्थाने दुःस्थावस्थितजनाधाराननवरतगुणगणोपेतानाश्रितजने  
यथोचितवृत्तिविभागान्निजगुणगणासादितराजलोकान्तःप्रभावान् पूज्यपरमाराध्यत-  
मोत्तमठाकुर अमुकपादानमुकस्थानात् सदादेशकारी अमुकः क्षितितलनिहितमौलिना  
साष्टांगं प्रणम्य सविनयं विज्ञापयति यथा । —*Lekha-paddhati*.

#### 3. To the husband.

स्वस्ति । यथास्थाने शान्तदान्तादिवरगुणोपेतान् दुःस्थानाथबन्धुकुटुम्बिक  
वर्गधारान् भर्तृअमुकपादान् अमुकस्थानात् सदाज्ञाविधायिनी अमुका सस्नेहं  
सोत्कण्ठं सविनयं विज्ञापयति यथा । —*Lekha-paddhati*.

#### 4. To the wife.

स्वस्ति । अमुकस्थाने पालितपरमपतिव्रतगुणशालिनीमवगतास्मद्भवनसकल-  
नीतिमार्गां त्विवर्गफलसंपादयित्वा विनयवात्सल्यादिप्रियंवदादिवरगुणगणावर्जित-  
सकलनिजजनमानसा भार्याममुकां सस्नेहं साजसं सबहुमानं कुशलं वार्तयति यथा ।

—*Lekha-paddhati*.

### APPENDIX III

#### *Specimens of some documents.*

#### A. Copper-plate grant issued by the king in respect of the gift of a land as a religious endowment.

श्रीनृपविक्रमसमयातोतसंवत्सरशतेषु द्वादशसु अष्टाधिकाशीत्यधिकेषु संवत्-  
सरान्तः वैशाखमासे शुक्लपक्षे तृतीयायां गुरुवासरे.....शासनपत्रमिदम् ।.....  
श्रीमदणहिल्लपाटके समस्तराजावली.....श्रीअरिराजनन्दनशङ्कर...राणकश्रीलावण्य-  
देवप्रसादेन प्रसादपत्तलायां...ताम्रशासनं लिख्यते यथा ।.....लावण्यप्रसाददेवः...  
परमपुण्याभित्रद्वये.....शासनं चकार । अस्मिन्...अमुकग्रामः.....अमुकाय  
श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवस्य पञ्चोपचार.....नैवेद्यादिनिमित्तं.....शासनेन प्रदत्तः ।.....  
मामान्यं मत्पुण्यफलमेतदवगम्य मङ्गलशैरन्यैरपि भुतो भोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मदायोऽ-  
नुमन्तव्यः पालनीयश्च ।  
—*Lekha-paddhati.*

#### B. A mortgage deed.

सं १२८८ वैशाखशुदि १५ सोमेश्येह श्रीपत्तने.....आधिपत्तमभिलिख्यते यथा ।  
धनिको नाम नामतः इहैव वास्तव्य.....लाभाय स्वधनं प्रयुङ्क्ते ।...इहैव वास्तव्या  
...२०० शतद्वयं द्रम्माः गृहीताः । अमीषां द्रम्माणां व्याजे मासे शतं  
प्रति द्र० २५ चटतः ।.....व्यवहारकस्य मनोविश्वासनिमित्तं आधौकृतं  
पूर्वाभिमुखं समालिन्दकं द्विभूमिकं.....आधौ मुक्तम् । गृहस्यास्य आघाटा यथा ।  
पूर्वस्यां दिशि..... । दक्षिणस्यां दिशि..... । तथा पश्चिमायां दिशि..... ।  
उत्तरस्यां दिशि.....सीमा । गृहमिदं सां० अक्षयतृतीयायां.....छुटति ।  
यदि धारणिको.....अक्षयतृतीयायां न छोटयति ततः प्रतिवर्षं... व्यवहारकस्य  
प्रवेशद्रम्माः छुटति । कदापि गृहमिदं राजकदैवकवशात् ज्वलति.....तदा  
धारणिकेन.....तादृशमेव गृहं.....व्यवहारकस्य दातव्यम् । अनेन लिखित-  
विधिना व्यवहारकेण गृहमिदमाचन्द्रार्कं भोगवनीयं यावता धारणिको.....  
द्रम्मान् सव्याजकान् न ददाति ।.....उभौ.....प्रतिभुवौ ॥.....तथा यथा-  
लिखितसाक्षिपञ्चकसहितं.....आधिपत्तं प्रमाणमिति । —*Lekha-paddhati.*

## C. A deed of sale.

प्रतिशुभ्राव न्यायाधिकारिणां पुरतः स्वयं सुचितकुलनामा देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तसुतः  
 पोत्रो देवशर्मणः श्रीगौडद्विजन्मा । यन्मम मद्यैकं इन्द्रप्रस्थदुर्गान्तर्गतं.....सविधे  
 हस्तमहस्रक्षेत्रफलं दारिण्यकोपलमुधानिर्मितखण्डद्वयं.....पूर्वस्यां निर्भयसिंहक्षत्रियस्य  
 दक्षिणस्यां.....प्रतीच्यां... ..उत्तरस्यां.....तन्मया समाहितस्वान्तेन स्वेच्छापूर्वकं  
 मदस्रद्वयं.....गोपालदामवणिकसूनुर्गोर्गज्यवणिजो हस्ते विक्रीतम् । विक्रयवसूनि  
 मया स्वायत्तीकृतानि । प्रतिवेशिनश्च स्वमाक्षितां लिलिखुः ।.....एते च सर्वे  
 न्यायशान्तायामेव प्रोचुः । सद्यैतद् विक्रेतुरेव । तदेतद् विक्रयपत्रं लिखितम् ।  
 यदपेक्षायां दस्तावलम्बः स्यात् तिथिर्यथासमयम् ।

—*Yāvana-paripāṭi-anukrama.*

SURES CHANDRA BANERJI

## The Place of Mahākṣatrapa Īśvaradatta in the Western Kṣatrapa Chronology

Mahākṣatrapa Īśvaradatta, who issued silver coins similar to those of the Western Kṣatrapas with dates in his regnal years 1 and 2, is believed to have usurped the domain of the Western Kṣatrapas for a short period, as his coins are found along with those of the latter. As such he has a place somewhere in the chronology of the Western Kṣatrapas. Various places for him, in the said chronology, have been suggested so far. And recently, against the prevailing views on the subject, I suggested a new place for him between Śaka 273 and 284, the period of which no Western Kṣatrapa coins are known.<sup>1</sup> I drew attention to the importance of the analysis of the contents of the hoards of the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas for assigning proper place to the intruder Īśvaradatta.

Now Dr. D. C. Sircar has published a paper in this *Journal*<sup>2</sup> on the subject and recognising the value of the hoard-contents for the assignment of place to Īśvaradatta in the Western Kṣatrapa chronology, he has drawn our attention to two such hoards of coins of Western Kṣatrapas that were not known to me ; and he has arrived at some new conclusions.

Of the two hoards, which Dr. Sircar has referred, one—the Shirwal hoard, was noticed as early as 1844-47<sup>3</sup> but, I admit my ignorance, I did not know about it till I took up the preparation of the list of the hoards at a later date,<sup>4</sup> to which Dr. Sircar has referred to in this connection. The other—Petluripalem hoard was discovered only in 1956 and I had not the advantageous position of being a Government Epigraphist that the Collector of

1 *IBBRAS*, XXX, pp. 52-55.

2 Vol. XXXIII, pp. 269-74.

3 *IBBRAS.*, II (OS), pp. 377-80.

4 *INSI.*, XVIII, pp. 220-21.

Guntur would have informed me of the discovery or I would have known of it before it was published.

These two hoards contain the coins of Īśvaradatta with the earliest coins of Mahākṣatrapa Vijayasena (Śaka 162—A.D. 240) and Kṣatrapa Viradāma (Śaka 156-160—A.D. 234-40) respectively. Thus these hoards conclusively show that Īśvaradatta cannot be placed earlier than Śaka 156 in the Western Kṣatrapa chronology. Thus they upturn down the views that Dr. Sircar was so far advocating. He was of the opinion<sup>5</sup> that the date assigned to Īśvaradatta by Bhandarkar,<sup>6</sup> i. e. Śaka 110-113 was more reasonable than that was expressed by Rapson<sup>7</sup> i.e. between Śaka 158 and 161. Now, having been acquainted with the contents of these two hoards, Rapson's suggestion appears to him more reasonable than that of Bhandarkar.<sup>8</sup>

But these hoards have nothing in them, which could in itself support the suggestion of Rapson, to which Dr. Sircar has now reverted. The date suggested by them, no doubt, lies within the range covered by the above two hoards; but further evidence is required to substantiate the suggestion assigning Īśvaradatta to about Śaka 159 (237 A.D.). To this end, arguments about the portraiture on Īśvaradatta's coins and the palaeography of their legends were raised by Rapson, which Dr. Sircar has again pointed out. But as Bhandarkar has shown, no conclusions can be arrived at by the portraiture.<sup>9</sup> Palaeography, could have been of some help in the matter; but after my careful examination of the entire collection of the coins of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, I could find hardly anything which could help in sticking Īśvaradatta particularly at this point i.e. Śaka 159.

5 *The Age of the Imperial Unity*, pp. 221-22; 186; 206.

6 *ASIR.*, 1913-14, p. 229.

7 *BMCAR.*, intro., p. xxxvi.

8 *HIQ.*, XXXIII, p. 273.

9 *Op. cit.*, p. 229.

• The placing of Īśvaradatta's reign in the chronology of the Western Kṣatrapas, is primarily the filling up the gap that may be found there due to the absence of the coins of one or the other Western Kṣatrapa. Rapson's suggestion was mainly based on the fact that there was a gap between 158 (last recorded year of Mahākṣatrapa Dāmasena) and 161 (the earliest known date of his son and successor Mahākṣatrapa Yaśodāman). Till then no coins were known for the years 159 and 160. But now the coins of these dates are not unknown. They are known on the coins issued as Kṣatrapa as well as Mahākṣatrapa. Viradāman's coins, issued as Kṣatrapa for the year 159 are known in Sarvania, Sonepur and Vasoj hoards and for the year 160 in Sarvania hoard.<sup>10</sup> The coins of the latter date are also published in the *British Museum Catalogue*.<sup>11</sup> The coin of Yaśodāman issued as Mahākṣatrapa dated 160 is known from Sarvania hoard and Bhandarkar has already drawn our attention to this coin while discussing the problem,<sup>12</sup> which is now being dealt here. The coin for the year 159 with the higher title Mahākṣatrapa was in the Sonepur hoard. Unfortunately, this hoard is not adequately published, so little is known to scholars about its contents. This hoard was examined by G.V. Acharya and the copy of his detailed examination report is in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, where I could see it. There he has mentioned a coin dated 159 issued by Viradāman with the title of Mahākṣatrapa. I knew about this coin, when I wrote my earlier paper on the subject; but then I did not consider advisable to refer to it unless I was sure about it. Now, I have come to know that the coin exists in the Nagpur Museum but only *Rājño mahākṣatrapasa Dāmasenapubasa Rājño mahākṣatrapasa* can be read on it with certainty. The name of the issuer is not there to say if it was issued by Viradaman.<sup>13</sup>

10 *Ibid.*

11 *BMCAK.*, p. 120.

12 *Op. cit.*, p. 229.

13 I owe the information to Shri B. C. Jain, Archaeological Assistant, Nagpur Museum (Now Assistant Curator, Raipur Museum),

Vīradāman may or may not have issued this coin. But it leaves no doubt that coins for the year 159 were issued by a Western Kṣatrapa as Mahākṣatrapa. As such, whatever might be the considerations before Dr. Sircar to place Īśvaradatta at this date, he cannot be accommodated here.

Thus, naturally Īśvaradatta will have to be placed somewhere in the later period. In doing so, we will have to bear in mind the evidence of the hoard of 520 coins in the Junagarh Museum. It includes the coins from Rudrasena to Bhartṛdāman; but it contains no coin of Īśvaradatta. This makes it clear that Īśvaradatta would not have preceded the time of Bhartṛdāman.

Having thus ruled out the possibility of placing Īśvaradatta before Śaka 220, the last known date of Bhartṛdāman, I would come to my own suggestion. While suggesting the dates between 273 and 284 for Īśvaradatta, I had referred to eight hoards, that were then known to me; and had pointed out that five of them, *viz.* Vasoḥ, Junagarh, Sāñci, Gondermau and Karad, did not contain any coin of Īśvaradatta, while the remaining three—Uparkot, Sarvania and Sonepur hoards had the coins of Īśvaradatta. These three hoards were those, which included the coins of Svāmī Rūdrasena III also. Of them two hoards included the coins of Īśvaradatta for the first year and the latest coin of Svāmī Rudrasena III in them was of the year 273; and the third hoard, which included the coins of both the years of Īśvaradatta had the coins of Svāmī Rudrasena III with the dates 284 and onward. Of the five hoards, which did not have the coins of Īśvaradatta, two—Sāñci and Gondarmau hoards had the coins of Svāmī Rudrasena III; but they had his latest coins only for the years 272 and 270 respectively. The absence of Īśvaradatta's coins from these hoards, appeared to me suggesting that his coins did not exist till 272. They came into existence only in 273 or a little later. Since we do not possess any coins of Svāmī Rudrasena III after 273 till 284, I considered his place was between this period. And I think, I was perfectly justified in having such a conclusion with the material that I had then before me.

But the two hoards, to which our attention has been drawn by Dr. Sircar, contain the coins of Īśvaradatta with the latest Western Kṣatrapa coins of Yaśodāman II (Śaka 238-58). This circumscribes the place of Īśvaradatta at the other end. In their light, Īśvaradatta can now no more be placed in the period of Svāmī Rudrasena III. At the most he can be placed immediately after Yaśodāman II. Had these hoards before me, when I placed the above suggestion, I would have myself concluded differently.

Now, after Bhartṛdāman, before whom Īśvaradatta cannot be placed in the light of the Junagarh Museum hoard, the gaps due to the absence of the Kṣatrapa coins are few. Coins for the dates 233 and 239 are missing in the reign of Rudrasimha II and for the dates 246, 248, 250 and 251 are missing in the reign of Yaśodāman II. Dr. Sircar may well like to place Īśvaradatta in any one of these gaps ; but this would be a tight-fit accommodation, which is not possible in the case of an intruder like Īśvaradatta. A *coup-d'état* from within may be a matter of few hours or a few days, and one can in such a case issue his own coins, leaving no gap between his and his predecessor's coins. But it would certainly take some time before an outsider could be able to oust the ruler in power and issue his own coins. So, to me, none of these gaps can accommodate the coins of Īśvaradatta. In all probability these gaps are not due to any political disturbances; only we have not been able to come across the coins of these dates.

But immediately after Yaśodāman i.e. Śaka 254, till the rise of Rudrasena III in Śaka 270, we do not have any coin. We know from the coins of Rudrasena III that his father Rudradāman II was also a Mahākṣatrapa. He might have issued his coins, but we do not possess any so far. So, this gap was so far assigned to him. But it is quite possible that Īśvaradatta might have ousted Yaśodāman II and soon after, he himself might have been deprived of his booty by Rudradāman II, member of a new dynasty.

Lastly, I would like to say a few words about the interring of hoards of coins in ancient India, to which Dr. Sircar has



mentioned in the present discussion. It is true that the practice of interring accumulated wealth in cash was common in all parts of ancient and medieval India; and it was a popular practice in the villages as late as the last century. But we should not forget that such interring was in the nature of bank deposits and were never secret to the members of the family. The elder of the family knew about the interred wealth and he passed on the information to his successor. This used to go from generation to generation. And in the time of need they unearthed the treasure and used it and then they again buried it if they had any surplus wealth as savings. As such, these deposits could remain buried unclaimed only in rare cases. Chances of getting such deposits is remote; but if per chance more than one such hoard are found, it is not necessary that the contents of all of them be similar in nature.

The interring of wealth, at the time of political disturbances, has also been a feature of Indian life. Why go to distant past, only a little more than a decade back, when there was mass exodus from the Punjab after the partition of India, inspite of the bank consciousness, people buried their treasures in their houses, before they left their homeland. We can very well postulate similar circumstances in the ancient times. Such deposits are more likely to remain buried without coming to the knowledge of the successors of the persons who buried them. In such burials, the wealth interred at any one disturbing situation would be more or less similar in nature. So, if we find hoards of the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas, similar in nature and scattered in different parts of their domain, there can be no other conclusion than that they were deposited at the time of some political upheaval.

I doubt very much that the find-spot of any of the hoard of the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas was outside their dominion. The finds of their coins in Amarāvati,<sup>14</sup> Arvi (district

Wardha),<sup>15</sup> Chindwara district,<sup>16</sup> Kāmpṭee (Nagpur),<sup>17</sup> Seoni<sup>18</sup> and Sonapur<sup>19</sup> are sure indications that the Western Kṣatrapa territories were not confined to Saurāṣṭra, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Malwa, but had also extended towards south. The Western Kṣatrapa coins have also been found further south in the Andhīra Prades in the excavations at Koṇḍāpur, Maski and Panigrahi.<sup>20</sup> So, the find at Petluripalem in Guntur district will have to be viewed along with the finds of these places.

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

15 In Nagpur Museum, unpublished, T. T. R. No. 5 of 1918. *Inventory of the boards and finds of coins and seals from Madhya Prades*, p. 10.

16 *Proc. ASB.*, 1882, p. 114.

17 *JRAS.*, XII (1850), p. 2.

18 *JNSI.*, XII, p. 167-68; XVI, p. 207. Recently a gentleman showed me some coins found in that locality.

19 *NS.*, XLVII, pp. 95-99.

20 *JNSI.*, XV, pp. 163-69.

## The Cult of the Vrātyas

Since the Vrātyas represented a definite cultural milieu of eastern India with Magadha as the centre, they also developed an independent cult of their own which is marked by its individuality and sobriety of expression. A study of the cult of the Vrātyas is bound to throw a flood of light on the contemporary religious and cultural trend.<sup>1</sup> The system of the Vrātyas is fully represented in the *Atharvaveda* and later literature. D. R. Bhandarkar has traced its link with the Indus Valley Civilisation. Indications to the pre-aryan cults are not lacking in the *R̥gveda*. Besides a reference to *Śiṣṇa-devāḥ*, we have a reference to three other gods, viz. *Yātudhāna* (Pumān), *Strī* (the female) and *Mūradevas* with bent necks (probably Kārtikeya of the proto-Indians?). This *Triad* possibly refers to the divine *Triad* of the Vrātyas or the pre-aryans. The Aryans first introduced the cult of fire-sacrifice, which probably did not exist in pre-aryan times. From the *Kauśītaki-Upaniṣad* (II. 5), we learn that the ancients did not perform the *Agnihotra*, a *R̥gvedic* sacrifice daily performed by the Brāhmaṇas before sunrise. The pre-aryan people did not even know its name (Cf. Heras, *The origin of Indian Philosophy and asceticism*). The Vrātyas had no such cult of fire-sacrifice as will be evident from their system. From all these and other available data on the point, it is clear that the Vrātyas had a cult, decidedly different from the orthodox Aryans.

In the *Atharvaveda*, XV. 1.1. (*Vrātya Āsidiyamāna eva sa Prajāpatiṃ samairayat*), we find the Vrātya as the benefactor of the human society or as one who does good to a large number of people. Sampurnanand has identified the Vrātya with *Paramātmā* (*Vrātyakāṇḍam*, p. 2). The most scientific explanation of the above *Sūkta* seems to be that the Vrātya, as the benefactor, moved and preached in all directions. The Vrātya is also associated with the *Rūdra-Śiva* cult. In the intervening period between

the time of the *Yajurveda* and the *Atharvaveda*, the eight *mūrtis* of Śiva came into a complete form. In the *AV* (XV. 5.1-7) we find eight *mūrtis* of Śiva except Bhīma. According to R. G. Bhandarkar, the gods made *Bhava*, the archer, the protector of the Vrātyas or outcastes, in the intermediate space of eastern region, *Sarva* of the southern region, *Rūdra* of the lower region, *Mahādeva* of the upper region and *Paśupati* of the western region, *Īśāna* of all intermediate regions. (*Saivism, Vaiṣṇavism etc.* p. 105). The Vrātya induced the creator to look within himself and he saw *Suvarṇa* or brilliance. That brilliance grew and increased and it became *Īśāna*, it became *Mahādeva*, it became *Ekavrātya*, or totality of the Vrātya community. (*JASB-XVII.22*; Griffith, *Hymns of Atharvaveda*, pp. 189-90; *HOS*, VIII-778-79).

The *Ekavrātya* has been considered as the Supreme Being of the Universe. The *Ekavrātya* became *Mahādeva*, gained lordship of gods and became the chief Vrātya. He roused *Prajāpati* to action. His belly is dark-blue and his back is red. "With dark-blue he envelops a detested rival, with red he pierces the man who hates him, so the theologians say". (*AV*, XV. 1; Cf. the 27th *sūkta* of the 18th *Kāṇḍa* of the *Paippalāpāda* version of the *AV*; Sampurnanand, *Op. cit.* p. 6; *HOS*, VIII-773. Cf. the text "*Ekavrāt-oabbhavat. Sa dhanurā(da)ṭṭa. (TA) da indradhanurabbhavat. Nilamasyodaram Lobitamasya Prṣṭham*). The conception of *Mahādeva* is definitely a pre-aryan mythology. We have a reference to Śiva in the Indus Valley Civilisation as the creator, preserver, and destroyer of the Universe (*JBU*. V, pt. 1, pp. 1 to 39, Heras's article, *Religions of the Mohenjodaro peoples according to inscriptions*). Śiva has also been called the god of nomad Vrātya or spirit of Vrātya. R. Kimura holds that the Vrātyas or the outlandish Aryans took the *mūrtis* of Śiva and engrafted them on their god in order to heighten his glory. He is of opinion that since the Vrātyas fought against the Vedic aryaans, they took Śiva as their leader. Śiva is said to belong to the *Niṣādas* and is also connected with the Vrātyas. (R. Kimura, *A historical study of the terms*

*Hinayāna and Mahāyāna* p. 32). Śiva, though a pre-aryan god, finds indirect mention in the *Vedas* in the shape of Rudra. More important is the close association of Aśūra with Rudra or Śiva. (*RV*, V. 42.11). It is clearly distinguishable from the rest of the aryan gods. Rudra is the foremost physician (*Ibid*-11.33.4). His medical virtues are connected with water. When Prajāpati committed incest with his daughter, Rudra, as *Bhūtapati*, tore him to pieces. He is a higher personage than Viṣṇu. The memory of the earliest epoch survives in Śiva as one of the post-Vedic *trinity* itself an outcome of an amalgam of contending forces (A. Banerji-Sastri, *Aśūra India*, p. 15).

Rudra is essentially a mountain deity, wearing braided hair, whose colour is brown and red. He is clothed in skin. He is an archer, fierce, destructive like a terrible beast, a malevolent destroyer. In Rudra, there have combined the forms of different but kindred gods. A reference to the cult of Rudra by the Vrātya has been seen as the explanation of the curious Vrātya hymn of the *AV* and of the ceremonies which are used for the introduction into the Vedic religion of the non-Brāhmaṇical aryaṇs (*HOS.*, XXXI, p. 147). Charpentier believed that the Vrātyas were adherents of *Rudra-Śiva* (Cf. *AV*. XI. 2. 1, 3, 7, 11, 13, 14; XI. 6. 9; XVIII. 1.40; XVIII. 21-13; XIX. 10. 6; 56.5; XX. 135. 9; XIX. 18. 3; 11.4; 9. 11). The above evidences go to show that the Vrātyas were the worshippers of Śiva. (Srikantha Sastri, *Proto-Indian Religion*, pp. 7-9.). Sastri believes that the Vrātyas belonged to the Vaiśya class. To me it seems that this conception of Sastri is nothing more than his figment of imagination. The Vrātyas are said to be the followers of Rudra. The chief gods of the Vrātyas were Rudra, Īśāna and Mahādeva who formed the *trinity*. These three were only the various manifestations of the one and the only god, the Ekavrātya. It appears that they were *Ekeśvaravādinas*. Hauer believes that the Vrātyas were definitely more prominent in their days than their aryan counterpart. He further believes that the Brāhmaṇical record-keepers have intentionally destroyed the original sources of the Vrātyas. The followers of the Rudra

cult were generally regarded irreligious in those days and that is why the Vrātyas have been called irreligious. The Ekavrātya seems to imbibe all the chief characteristics of Rūdra.

The Atharvan hymns, with their deification of a wandering Vrātya priest with its strange paraphernalia, seem to be a little puzzling and confusing as well. In the words of Dr. S. K. Chatterji "they (hymns) suggest the presence of a Śaiva cult quite different from that presented by the Vedic world. The extravagant respect paid to the Vrātyas in these poems either shows the hands of the followers of the Vrātya cult themselves, or they are the works of the Vedic aryanas who felt fascinated by the Vrātyas with their non-midland practices, and perhaps by their wild mysticism, for the AV hymns are highly mystic in this connection.' (Origin & Development of Bengali language I. 47; Cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Collected works*, IV. 149; *JB.*, II. 222; *Jaim-Upn.* II. 21; *Praśnopniṣad*, II. 11; S. K. Chatterji, *Indo-aryan and Hindi*, p. 52." The pauranic tradition was later on aryanised). Charpentier sees in them the precursor of the Śaivites of today. (*IRAS.*, 1913, p.155). Rudra is the protector of Vrātyas in all quarters. The *Rudra-Śiva* had a close connection with the strugglers in the forest and also with the Vrātyas (Bhandarkar, *Collected works*, IV. pp. 147-76). D. R. Bhandarkar believes that the Ekavrātya, later on, developed into Śiva (*Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, pp. 40-48). The Ekavrātya was infused with a serenity and loftiness, that is unparalleled in our religion. The *Puṃścalī* or harlot, associated with the Ekavrātya, was replaced by *Śraddhā* or faith. *Māgadha* (māgii priest?) was substituted by *Mitra*. Knowledge became his garments, day and night his cap, and hair, and *Mātariśvāna* and *Pavamāna* were connected with him as the horses of his chariots. He became a great *Tapaśvī* and practised penance for one year and, as a result thereof, the Śaiva system underwent a complete metamorphosis (Cf. J.W. Hauer, *Der Vrātya* p.142 for the companion of the Vrātyas. Sampurnanand, *Op. cit.* *Vidyutam puṃścalī stanayitnurmāgadho vijñānaṃ vasoḥaruṣ-ṇiṣṇ rātrī keśā haritau pravartau kalmalirmaṇiḥ. Mātariśvāna*

*Pavamānaśca Vipathavāhan vātaḥ sārāthī reṣmā pratodaḥ.* A slightly different reading of the text has been given by Dr. Buddhaprakash in the *ABORI.*, XXX. 212).

Vedic Rudra has few common characteristics of Śiva. The process of assimilation probably began at the end of the Ṛgvedic period. It seems that successful attempt was made during the period of the *Śatarudriya* evidence of which is important in connection with the study of the Rūdra cult (Cf. Venkatarammaiyā, *Rudra-Śiva*, pp. 27-31. Here he has tried to show the similarity between Rūdra and the Assyrian God Assūra. Cf. *VS.*, 16 and 3; *TS.*, IV. 5. 1). *Śatarudriya* is taken to be a non-aryan document wherein an attempt has been made to aryanise Śiva. It refers to two different qualities of Śiva—fierce and benign. Rudra is also called Śiva. In the *AV.*, Rudra has a higher status. Bhava and Sarva are called *Bhūtapati*, and lords of beasts respectively (*AV.*, XI. 2. 1). Kine, horse, goat and men and sheep are marked off as belonging to *Paśupati* (*Ibid.*, XI. 2. 9). To *Ugra*, the fierce, belong the four intermediate quarters, the sky, the earth, the wide atmosphere, and that which has the Spirit and breathes on the earth (*Ibid.*, XI. 2. 10). Bhava is addressed as Rajan (*Ibid.*, XI. 6. 9). Other names of Rudra are *Sadāśiva*, *Mahādeva*, *Paśupati*, *Īśāna* etc. We have the following manifestations of the Ekavṛātya in the *AV.*:

XV. 5. 1. For him they made the archer Bhava attendant (from the eastern quarter (Griffith, *Op. cit.* 189—“*Īśāna* is one of the older names of Rudra).

XV. 5. 2. For him they made the archer Sarva attendant (from the southern quarter).

XV. 5. 4. For him they made the archer the formidable god attendant (from northern quarter)...(*Ugraṁ Devaṁ*, according to Muir, is Rudra)

XV. 5. 3. For him they made the archer *Paśupati* attendant (from the western quarters, Rudra is also taken as lord of beasts, Cf. *AV-XI. 6.9*)

XV. 5. 5. For him they made the archer Rudra attendant (from the fixed quarter).

\* XV. 5. 6. For him they made the archer Mahādeva attendant (from the upward quarter)

XV. 5. 7. For him they made the archer Isāna attendant (from all intermediate directions).

There is a reference to a couch and headgear in connection with the Ekavrātya of the *Atharvaveda*. D. R. Bhandarkar believes that the *Uṣṇīṣa* is the same as found in the Mohenjodaro seals (*Op. cit.* p. 41ff.). Chapter XV of the *AV* speaks of an *Antardeśa* from which the Vrātya goes to all directions. He also goes to *Antardeśa* and he is everywhere. The east gave him *Bhava*, the south *Sarva*, the west *Paśupati*, the north *Ugra*, the *Dhruva* (fixed) *Rudra* the upper *Mahādeva*, and the *Antardeśa Isāna*. Here it is to be borne in mind that their principal resort was in the eastern quarter as is clear from the *AV* and the *PB*. Assuming Śiva as the Ekavrātya of the Vrātya pantheon, we may revert to the *Purāṇas* for more illustrations. Śiva is said to have passed through the stages of a recognised human existence (Cf. M. Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism* p. 78). Both the *SB* and the *Śatarudriya* describe Śiva as *Kṛttivāsa* (wearer of skin garment) (*SBE.*, XII. 443. *Amarakoṣa* says "clad in skin." The *Anuśāsanaparva* and the *Purāṇas* have 1008 names of Śiva.). Śiva is said to be the bearer of *Kapāla*. Śiva is depicted as a *Yogin* and an ascetic. According to the *Skandapurāṇas* there are eleven crores of *Gaṇas* of Śiva (*Kāśīkhaṇḍa-adh.* 53)., Śiva is represented with eleven armlets in the Indus Valley Civilisation. This number seems to have attained a sanctity of its own and with the amalgamation of the *Rudra-Śiva* this sacred number of eleven was ascribed to Rudra. According to the *Mahābhārata*, Rudra was the son of Tvaṣṭṛ. Rudra had eleven names (Cf. *Śāntiparva*, 207/20—*Ajāikapāda*, *Ahīrbudhanya*, *Virupākṣa*, *Raivata*, *Hara*, *Bahurūpa*, *Trayambaka*, *Sureśvara*, *Sāvitra*, *Jayanta*, *Piṇāka* and *Aparājita*. We get a genealogy of Śiva from the *Harivaṃśa* also, I. I. 41ff.).

Besides the description of the Ekavrātya, there is also a hymn on Skambha, which is rather an enunciation of the doctrine of the *Līṅga*. In consonance with the system of polarisa-



tion, prevalent amongst the Vrātyas, the idea of destruction and fertility was brought together in the case of *Liṅga* also (Cf. Murray, *Religious thought & life in India*, p. 327). Traditionally *Vanaliṅgas* are found in different parts of the world. The Gaṇḍakī supplies six varieties of *liṅga* stones which are called respectively *Sivanābha*, *Aghora*, *Sadyojāta*, *Vāmadeva*, *Tatpuruṣa* and *Isāna*, of which *Aghora* alone is unfit for worship (Cf. Oppert, *Original inhabitants of India*, p. 382ff. For *Liṅga*, also consult *Skandapurāṇa*, *Avantikhaṇḍa*, 1.1. 32). Since *Pumścalī* is included in the list of victims at the *Puruṣamedha* (*VS.*, XXX, 8), it is believed that she belonged to the pre-aryan cult. D. R. Bhandarkar identifies the nude images of the Indus Valley with the *Pumścalī*. The *Mahābhārata* also refers to the *Śakti* and the *Liṅga* worship and there are references to *Bhagaliṅga*, *Māheśvariprajā*, the *Mātṛkas* and *Bhagadeva* etc. (*Anuśāsanaparva*-58, 3; 45. 217; *Sātyaparva*, 47. 1ff.; *Aśvamedhikaparva*, 43. 15). Durgā is said to have her perpetual abode on the Vindhya mountains (*Virāṭaparva*, 178 ff.). The demoness is said to have been worshipped by the Vrātyas. According to the *Mahābhārata* the Vrātyas were spread over a wide area and included even the peoples of Vāhlikas. If the identification of the Vrātyas on the basis of the *Mahābhārata* be taken as correct, there would be no difficulty in accepting that they were the originators of the *Śakti* worship in India. Hauer has shown how close are the parallels between some of the old sacrifices like those of the *Mahāvratas* and many of the ceremonies which repel us in the *Tantra* (Cf. *Der Vrātya*; Payne, *The Śākta* p. 63). The Vāhlikas (Vrātyas according to the *Mahābhārata*) are found singing of women.

In the description of the *Mahāvratas* rite in the *PB.*, we meet a barbaric rite, based on animistic views, that an inhabitant of Magadha and a courtesan should copulate (*PB.*, introduction, XX). While this rite is ordained in the *JB* (II. 404), it does not occur in the *PB.* According to the *SSS* (XVII. 6. 2), the practice of this kind was obsolete. Some prescriptions of the *JB* (II. 113) are not found in the *PB* (XIX. 13) and they are the most

barbaric and inhuman. In the *PB*, we note a certain inconsistency. Where the *JB* has *Iśānadeva* or *Rudra*, the *PB* has instead of this deity *Viśvedevāḥ*. But the *Sāman* by means of which *Prajāpati*, through this deity, seeks to retain the cattle is in both the texts the *mārgiyava*, the *Sāman* that elsewhere in the *PB* (XIV. 9. 12) is brought in connection with *Rudra*. The name *Rudra* is avoided in the *PB* (XIV. 9. 12). *Rudra* attained supremacy over both kinds of animal. The eastern region is the unconquerable one of the chanters. In this connection, there is a reference to food, peasantry, nobility and here the nobility is raised over the peasantry. The *mārgiyava Sāmans*, referred to above, are called the chants of *Rudra*. In *JB* (II. 254) we have, "the good addressed the mighty gods—*Rudras*," (Cf. *AB.*, III. 34. 3; *PB.*, VI. 2. 5; mentions eight *Vasus*, eleven *Rudras*, and twelve *Ādityas*; *Ibid* VI. 5. 20; VI. 6. 1; VII. 7. 16. where we find gods dividing animals amongst themselves; Cf. *SB.*, XII. 7. 3. 20 where *Rudra* is shown as ruler of cattle. (*Vāmdevya* is cattle).

The *Vrātyas* have also been called *Daiva-Prajā* worshippers and favourites of gods. It is said that the gods of the *Vrātyas* went to heaven and the *Vrātyas* became dissipated. They lived in their temporary sojourn. *Marutas* gave them the chant and the metre. *Buddha Saunāyana* is mentioned as the *Sthapati* of the *Daiva-Vrātyas* (*PB.*, XXIV. 18). *Sāyana* renders *Sthapati* by *Yajamāna* but that is a guess based on the fact that *Buddha Saunāyana* is there described as performing a sacrifice.....  
.....all *Daiva-Vrātyas* are described as performing the sacrifice "with *Buddha*, the *Sthapati*." *Sthapati* can mean a chief or a king. The *Daiva-Vrātyas* are described as sacrificing to the *Devas* (gods), therefore they are not gods themselves (as understood by some scholars). *Caland* translates *Sthapati* as *Gṛhapati*. Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyay takes earlier pre-*Ṛgvedic* conquerors of India as *Daiva-Vrātyas*. It is to *Daiva-Vrātya* that *Pṛthu Vainya* puts several questions in the *Jaminiyasambhitopaniṣad* (*PAIOC.*, III, 265 ff. Cf. *CR.*, May, 1924; *JB.*, II. 222; *PB.*, XVII. 1. 1, *Daivā vai svargam Lokamāyamsteṣām daivā abhiyanna vrātyām pravasan-*

*tast āgacchan yato devāḥ svargam Lokamāyan.....*  
 Sāyaṇa says : *Devānāmanucarāḥ ataḥ eva devasambandhāścaddaivā janāḥ. Vrātyā pravasantah* according to Sāyaṇa means *Vrātyām ācārahinatām prāpya pravasantah pravāsam kurvantah.....*

Solemn vows had to be taken by everybody who belonged to the cult of the Vrātyas. We learn from the *AV* (XV. 3. 1-5) that gods were his attendants, solemn vows his messengers and all creatures his worshippers. The *Bṛhat* was the stirring spoon, the *Rathantara*, the ladle. Griffith (*Op. cit.* p. 187) explains it as follows. "The *Bṛhat*, the *Rathantara*, the *Ādityas* and all the gods followed him. That man is alienated from the *Bṛhat* who reviles the Vrātya who possesses this knowledge. He who hath this knowledge becomes the beloved home of the *Bṛhat*, the *Rathantara* and the *Ādityas*....."It seems that the Vrātyas had attained a pre-eminent position as an ascetic. He was required to be treated with reverence by the people. Wherever he visited he got due respect and there was no bar on his stay anywhere. The deification of the Vrātya, in more than one way, is clear from the Vrātya hymns. We have to bear in mind here that the personalistic theory of creation was not new to the *AV* as we find it narrated in the Vedic, Brāhmanic and other literatures of the later period. At some places *Vrātyadharmā* has been compared to *Brāhmanadharmā* (*JB.* II. 222). Vrātya is also called the *Viśvapuruṣa* whose qualities are as follows: —(i) right eye = *Āditya*, (ii) left eye = Moon, (iii) right ear = Fire, (iv) left ear = Wind, (v) day and night = Nostrils, (vi) *Diti* and *Aditi* = two skull halves, (vii) head = Year. With the day is the Vrātya westward, with the night eastward.

The detailed description of the Vrātya in the *AV* is reminiscent of the great tradition associated with the popular god Mahādeva. In the early Vedic period *Śiṣṇa-devas* and *Vāmadevas* were looked down by the orthodox Aryans. The development of the Rudra cult brought in its train an amalgam of the *Rudra-Siva* and this indicates a victory of the aboriginal popular god over the aryaans. It appears that the early Vrātya institution was a common whole, revered and reared up by the original in-

habitants of this land of ours. They had a definite deity of their own. The mystic glorification of the Ekavrātya (Īśāna, Rudra, Mahādeva) is nothing but extravagant praise by those who had to struggle hard against the orthodox cult of the invading aryaans. Had not this been the case, what was the necessity of casting fling on the Vrātyas in unusually sarcastic and ironical terms, and compiling books after books even as late as the nineteenth century to prove their point of view? It would not be vain to suggest that the Vrātyas, after gaining victory over their rivals in the field, got, through some of their representatives, compiled the *Fifteenth* khaṇḍa of the *Atharvaveda* for the deification and glorification of the Vrātya cult and Order. The *Atharvaveda* was not collected when the *PB* was composed, for it contains a chapter on the glorification of the Vrātyas and that chapter was evidently composed later. The language of the Chapter XV of the *AV* is very near the classical saṃskṛta.

In the *AV*., XV—we find seven of the eight *mūrtis* of Śiva, the eighth being added in the *Kauśitakī* and all the eight were consolidated in the *SB*. Śiva's connection with the eight forms is closer and more important. Śiva had no share in the Vedic sacrifices. His admission into the Vedic pantheon produced a great commotion typified in the *Dakṣa-yajña*. The Vrātyas originally belonged to a non-sacrificing race. They were the swallowers of poison and on the authority of this statement in the *PB*, D. R. Bhandarkar believes that this conception seems to have given rise to notion that Śiva was a swallower of poison, on account of which he is designated as *Nilakaṇṭha*. Almost all the sects of Śaivism were the products of the Vrātya cult. *Gārāgīras*, the *Yati*, *Pāśupatas*, *Kāpālikas* (*Kāpālinas*) came into prominence with the spread of the Vrātya culture. The later literature simply depict their darker side. The Vrātyas had their own distinctive marks (Cf. Pai, *Religious Sects in India among the Hindus*, p. 69). The *Gārāgīras* formed an important aspect of the Śaiva sect (*PB*., XVII. 1.9). Wilson believes that the gods must have been credited with swallowing poison. Even to this day, there are some votaries of Śiva, who take delight in

showing their indifference to wordly objects by eating and drinking not only ordure and carrion, but also poisonous acid and nails (Wilson, *Essays on the Religion of the Hindus*, pp. 233-34). The Vrātyas believed in ghosts, witches, sorcerers, demons of all descriptions and, the ministration of priests consisted chiefly in pronouncing of set spells and charms. The *Sūtas* and *Māgadhas* played an important part in their religious life and belief. They practised exorcism and ordained elaborate expiatory rites for the sins real, as well as imagined. The leader of the Vrātyas, Ekavṛātya, drank wine. He has various manifestations, e.g., Bhava, Sarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Rudra, Mahādeva and Īśāna—the gods to whom the Vrātyas paid homage.

In the conception of Hindu *trinity*, Prajāpati was specially designated as Brahmā to mark his pre-eminence. Popular religion, as reflected in the Purāṇas, adopted Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Mahādeva scheme. This *trinity* has been the cardinal trait of the present day Hinduism. The sectarian mark on the forehead of the Vrātyas was *Lalāma* or the *Tṛpuṇḍa* of the Śaivas. (Cf. *AV*—*Tadakamabbavat Tallalāmbhavat*—...; also Cf. *VSS*, p. 25—*Yadbhūmo bhavati dhūmrīmāṇamevāsmada pabanti lalāmo bhavati mukhata evāsmīna tejo dadhāti*.....). In the *AV*, the Vrātyas were the devotees of Rudra. They were held in high esteem. The theory of *Triguṇavāda* found favour with the Vrātyas and some of the basic formulae of *Sāṃkhya* are included therein (Cf. S. N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. V; cf. *AV-X*. 8. 43; *Svet. Upn*, 3.4.2). The unstrung bow of the Vrātyas has been compared by Hauer to the *Danda* or staff of the orthodox ascetic of later times. A. L. Basham believes that the Vrātyas had some influence upon the Ājīvikas (Cf. *History & Doctrines of the Ājīvikas*, p. 8, fn. 1). The Vrātyas had spiritual conception of the Universe of their own, with different worlds in it, and with a presiding deity for each, and they were all under the eternal Vrātya. The gradual rise to pre-eminence of a substratum in the tradition, hostile to the general tone, played a leading part in the development of syncretism. The Vrātya cult and syncretism bring to our

memory some of the submerged tradition which survived, despite the best efforts of those who tried to nip it in the bud.

RADHAKRISHNA CHOUDHARY

ABBREVIATIONS USED

AV	=	Atharvavedha
ABORI	=	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
HOS	=	Harvard Oriental Series
JBU	=	Journal of the Bombay University
JB	=	Jaimini Brāhmaṇa
SB	=	Śatpatha Brāhmaṇa
SBE	=	Sacred Books of the East
SSS	=	Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra
Svet. Upn.	=	Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad
TS	=	Taittīriya Saṁhitā
VS	=	Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā
VSS	=	Vrātyatāsuddhisāṅgraha

## MISCELLANY

### Observations on the Apratigha coins of Kumāra-gupta I

We have so far nine Gupta gold coins of the Apratigha type, attributed to Kumāra-gupta I.<sup>1</sup> Eminent numismatists, like Cunningham, Hoernle and Smith, on the basis of the obverse scene of a single specimen, now in the British Museum, called it as King-and-two-Queens type and attributed it to Kumāra-gupta I, as the central figure is labelled Kumāra-gupta.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Smith, however, read the reverse legend as 'Śrīpratāpa'.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Allan of the British Museum, who described the coin in his Catalogue, but was not sure about the significance of the obverse scene, preferred to give it the non-committal name of Pratāpa from the reverse legend, which he also read as Śrīpratāpa.<sup>4</sup> He was once generally accepted by scholars. About the obverse details Allan observed,<sup>5</sup> "In spite of the legend, which has been supposed to label the central figure, the latter can hardly be identified as Kumāra-gupta as it is utterly unlike any representation of him, nor does it look like a regal figure, nor is there any good reason to suppose the other figures are the queens. One of them very closely resembles Minerva, and as the coin appears to be restruck on some foreign coin the whole may be an imitation or adaptation of some non-Indian type. Should a specimen with a legible inscription be found, some light may be thrown on the type which till then must remain a puzzle." But since the discovery of the Bayana hoard, which has given us eight more specimens,

1 The total number is represented by a single specimen in the British Museum collection and eight others from the newly discovered Bayana hoard. Cf. BMCGD., p. 87, pl. XV. 15; JNSI., X, p. 115, pl. VII. 1-9; Bayana Hoard, p. 303, pl. XXXI. 6-13.

2 Cf. Proc. ASB., 1883, p. 144; Smith, JRAS., 1889, p. 109.

3 Smith, *Ibid.*,

4 BMCGD., p. XCII.

5 *Ibid.*

Dr. Altekar reads the reverse legend as Apratighaḥ,<sup>6</sup> and not Śrī-pratāpa, as suggested by Smith and Allan. The obverse circular legend on the specimens is truncated and uncertain, and as Altekar is also doubtful about the exact significance of their obverse scene, he has called the coins, on the basis of his own amended reading of the reverse legend, as of the Apratigha type.<sup>7</sup> His opinion has been accepted by many numismatists.<sup>8</sup> His description of the coins is as follows: —

“The obverse shows three figures standing. The central one is a male figure standing facing, with hands folded on chest. He wears a simple *dhōti* with its folds hanging between the legs. There is either a protuberance on the head, as on the Buddha figures, or the hair is tied in a knot on the top of the head. The figure wears no ornaments or royal insignia and looks more like a Buddhist layman or monk, but is expressly described as Kumāra-gupta in a legend written vertically, but to be read horizontally, partly on the right and partly on the left of the standing figure. To the proper right of Kumāra-gupta is a male figure standing profile to right and apparently holding a shield in the left hand and a Garuḍa standard by the right, which can be seen between the two figures. To the proper left of Kumāra-gupta, there is a female figure standing to left with the right hand bent up in the attitude of *vitarka* or argumentation..... The reverse shows the conventional goddess Lakshmī, nimbate, seated facing on a lotus, and holding a lotus by the right hand; left one is empty. Legend on the right, Apratighaḥ.”<sup>9</sup>

The obverse scene and the legends on the coins have not been satisfactorily explained by the early numismatists. Dr. Altekar observed “the precise significance of this type is still a mystery. Definite answers can possibly be given when the long

6 *JNSI.*, X, p. 115; Bayana Hoard, p. CX; *Corpus of Indian Coins* IV, p. 207.

7 *Ibid.*,

8 Mirashi, *JNSI.*, XII, p. 70; B. P. Sinha, *Ibid.*, vol. XVI, p. 210.

9 *JNSI.*, X, p. 115; also cf. Bayana Hoard, p. 303; *Corpus of Indian Coins*, IV, p. 208. for details.



circular legend on the obverse becomes legible.”<sup>10</sup> But much has been suggested in recent years by scholars to explain the obverse scene and the reverse legend. According to Prof. Mirashi,<sup>11</sup> the central figure is of a sage, or the spiritual preceptor, whom the king and the queen have appeared to consult, in connection with a state calamity, perhaps due to the revolt (?) of the Puṣya-mitras. Or alternatively, an imitation of a gold coin of Huviṣka, showing Śiva, Pārvatī and Skanda, which, however, points to the fact that Gupta mint-masters continued to derive suggestions from early Kuṣāna types long after the reign of Samudra-gupta. On the other hand, according to Dr. R. C. Majumdar,<sup>12</sup> the obverse legend is Mihirakula, and that the whole scene may represent a moment of the *dhyāna-bhaṅga* of Śiva by Pārvatī, described in Kālidāsa’s *Kumārasambhava*.<sup>13</sup> Mihirakula, being a Śaiva, probably preferred a scene like this on his coinage.

None of the above suggestions seem probable or justified. The central of the three figures is clearly labelled Kumāra-gupta. In the opinion of the present writer, this disproves the possibility or probability of the suggestions made by Mirashi and Majumdar in order to explain the significance of the obverse scene and the reverse legend. Another point of objection ably advanced by Altekar as against Majumdar’s suggestion is that the Hūṇa chief cannot be the issuer of such original type of coins.<sup>14</sup>

Dr. Altekar suggested<sup>15</sup> that the obverse scene and the reverse legend may refer to Kumāra-gupta’s abdication of the kingdom and his formal renunciation of the worldly life. The two figures, one of his general or the crown prince and the other of his queen, are expostulating with him on his decision. But the king with folded hands on the chest apparently expresses

<sup>10</sup> *JNSI.*, X, p. 115; Bayana Hoard, p. CXII; *Corpus of Indian Coins*, IV, p. 209.

<sup>11</sup> *JNSI.*, XII, pp. 69-71.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 72-3.

<sup>13</sup> For an earlier reference compare *Linga-purāṇa*.

<sup>14</sup> *JNSI.*, XII, p. 73n.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, X, p. 115.

his inability to agree with them. He is firm in his determination and is therefore described on the reverse as *Apratighaḥ* (invincible). Altekar, however, maintains, that there is as yet no other evidence to show that Kumāra-gupta had abdicated the throne and had become either a Hindu Sanyāsin or a Buddhist monk.<sup>16</sup> He has also pointed out that the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Skanda-gupta refers to his death.<sup>17</sup> Still, he has not altogether given up his suggestion and arguments about the probability of abdication of Kumāra-gupta I.<sup>18</sup>

Dr. B. P. Sinha, in an article published in *JNSI.*, XVI, pp. 210-14, tried to substantiate the abdication theory, first suggested by Altekar, by referring to two stories contained in the *Kathāsaritasāgara* and the Buddhist work *Candragarbha-Paripṛcchā*. He advanced other arguments as well. From the very nature of presentation and time of composition of the stories, it seems that they do not contain any data of a historical character about Kumāra-gupta's abdication and retirement. Moreover, the abdication theory, as suggested by the learned scholars, to explain away the obverse scene and the reverse legend of the coins under discussion, appears to be untenable.

It is unhistorical and anti-numismatic tradition to think with Altekar and others that Kumāra-gupta I abdicated the throne and at the same time issued these coins. There is no such parallel in the whole range of ancient Indian and foreign numismatic history. A king, who abdicates, voluntarily relinquishes, control of the state affairs, even according to our ancient texts,<sup>19</sup> ceases to function altogether in state matters.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 116.

17 Bayana Hoard, Intro; also cf. v. 6 of the Bhitari Pillar Inscription of Skanda-gupta which refers to Kumāra-gupta's death, probably a natural one.

18 Cf. Bayana Hoard, p. CXII; *Corpus of Indian Coins*, IV, pp. 209-10.

19 Cf. Rāmā., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Chap. 1 & 2.; *Mbh.*, Bk. XVII, Chap. 1.

Abdication means end of his capacity of issuing royal orders, not to speak of, the coins. The case of Kumāra-gupta I cannot be an exception. Further, as it would be impolitic on his part, to issue these coins depicting his own abdication scene.

There are also other objections. If the abdication theory is accepted, the coins should be attributed to some prince other than Kumāra-gupta, and in that case the coins will be commemorative medals. The reverse legend *Apratighaḥ* or invincible may very well be an epithet of Skanda-gupta, who revived the falling fortunes of the Guptas and claimed so many victories against the enemies<sup>20</sup>. But it is not likely that he issued these coins to commemorate a memorable incident in Kumāra-gupta's life, in which case, his own name would have appeared conventionally on the reverse, and not his *biruda*. Moreover, commemorative coins or medals are not known to Indian numismatic tradition. Again, the weight standard followed for this type does not conform to the standard followed during the reign of Skanda-gupta and his successors.<sup>21</sup> Thus it appears extremely difficult to attribute the coins to any of the post-Kumāragupta rulers of the Imperial dynasty.

The coins then are to be attributed to Kumāra-gupta I, and the whole scene on the obverse may refer to some incident in his life other than his abdication, which we, at the present state of our knowledge do not know, but which really did happen and even after that he continued to reign and issued these coins.<sup>22</sup> The

20 Cf. Bhitari Pillar Ins., vv. 4-8. ; Junāgaḍh Rock Ins., vv. 4 & 5.

21 The weight of the Apratigha coins varies between 121 and 124 grs. Skanda-gupta, who first adopted the *suvarṇa* standard, also issued coins of 132 grs. ; but as specimens are lacking, he does not seem to have issued any type of a less weight. His successors followed only the *suvarṇa* standard of 146. 4 grs.

22 S. V. Sohoni, in an article recently published in *JNSI.*, XVII, pp. 56 ff., has suggested a solution for the coin type. But his arguments and conclusion are based more upon imagination than on solid facts.

reverse short legend, which is the *biruda* of the issuer Kumāra-gupta, does not appear to help us a little in this respect. It may very well be an epithet, conventionally adopted by him, signifying his prowess or determination of character, which may be the theme of the obverse scene. The exact significance of the scene, rather of the type, would have been easy if it was possible to read the obverse circular legend, the difficulties about which have already been mentioned by scholars. But until a fresh specimen with a legible obverse legend comes to light, the question should remain open.

CHITTARANJAN ROY CHOUDHURY

## A Note on the Bhāturiyā Inscription of Rājyapāla

Sometime ago the Bhāturiyā inscription of Rājyapāla was edited in the pages of this journal<sup>1</sup> by Mr. Siva Prasanna Lahiry. Recently I had an opportunity to examine a photograph of the epigraph. The letters of the inscription are carefully and beautifully engraved and the preservation of the writing is satisfactory. The record is written in verse and the style of composition is simple. Unfortunately Mr. Lahiry has failed to read a number of passages correctly and his translation of the stanzas contain a few errors even when the verses have been correctly deciphered. In his introductory discussion, he has confused Yaśodāsa, the minister of the Pāla king Rājyapāla, with his father Saṅghadāsa. Some of his errors in the reading and interpretation of the Bhāturiyā inscription are indicated in the following lines. The errors of omission and commission in his translation are, however, too many to be discussed exhaustively in a small note.

1. Mr. Lahiry reads the first half of verse 2 in lines 2-3 as *Aṭṭ[ā]mūlam = iti sthānaṁ Vṛ(Bṛ)haddhaṭṭā-vinirggataṁ(tam)*. But the reading is clearly *Aṭṭamūlam = iti sthānaṁ Vṛ(Bṛ)haddhaṭṭa-vinirggataṁ(tam)*. Thus the geographical names mentioned in the verse are Aṭṭamūla and Bṛhaddhaṭṭa and not Aṭṭāmūla and Bṛihaddhaṭṭā as supposed by him.

2. In verse 3 in lines 3-4 what has been read as *śrī-Malhadāso bhava-khyāta.....tat-sūnuṅ = ca* is really *śrī-Malhadāsō = bhavat = khyāta.....tat-sūnuś = ca*.

3. The second half of verse 4 in line 5 has been read by Mr. Lahiry as: *Sarasvatī-pramāṁ Sambhur = Menā-Himavator = iva*. He has thus failed to notice the name of Saṅghadāsa's wife referred to in it. But the reading of what he has read as *Sarasvatī-pramāṁ* is clearly *Sarasvatīm = Umām* which shows that the name of Saṅghadāsa's wife was Sarasvatī who has been compared to Umā, the daughter of Menā and Himavat.

4. In verse 6 in lines 7-8 what has been read as °*pratiṣṭha-nidēśanaḥ*.....*yasmin* = *bhāsaty* = *akhaṇḍita-śāsano vyadhita-vasudhā*° is correctly °*prat-iṣṭa-nidēśanaḥ*... ..*yasmin* = *nyāsaty* = *akhaṇḍita-śāsano vyadhita vasudhā*°.

5. Verse 7 in lines 8-10 has been read by Mr. Lahiry as follows:

*Mātaṅgair* = *mmada-garuvitair* = *upanatair* = *aśvorasair* =  
*bhūmi-jair* =  
*ūrvuyā sa(śa)sya-samṛddhayā va(ba)hutitair* = *bēmnañ* =  
*cayair* = *arjjitaiḥ* |  
*samprakeṣā*(or *sampūjya*) *divija-devatāḥ* *Surapater* =  
*āditsun* = *ev* = *āspadam*  
*yah śrī-Rāmaparākramaṇa jayinā tantr-ādhikārī kṛtaḥ*||

About the reading, we may say that *sasya* does not require any emendation and that what has been read as *samprakeṣā* or *sampūjya* should better be read as *sampa(mpū)[j]ya*. Mr. Lahiry's translation of the stanza runs as follows: "He (Yaśodāsa) was given the post by the victorious [Rājyapāla], who was like Rāma in prowess, aspired after the status of the king of gods (Indra), on the score of his elephants infuriated with insolence, the collection of broad-chested *bhūmijas*, the land enriched with crop, the enormous heaps of gold earned and the worship of gods and Brāhmaṇas (or, having been sided by gods and Brāhmaṇas)". Apart from the minor defects of this translation, *aśvorasair* = *bhūmijaiḥ*, interpreted as "[on the score] of the broad-chested *bhūmijas*," has led Mr. Lahiry to a good deal of speculation regarding Yaśodāsa having been the chief of the Cāṣī Kaivarta community of the Vaiśya class, the great help Rājyapāla received from the Cāṣī Kaivartas in his military expeditions, Yaśodāsa being made Prime Minister as a reward for such help, Yaśodāsa having been an ancestor of Divya, etc. (pp. 222 ff.), which are all based on misunderstanding of the simple verse. The translation of the stanza would be: "Who (Yaśodāsa) was made the *Tantr-ādhikārī* (literally 'officer in-charge of administration') by the victorious [and] illustrious

Rāmaparākrama ( an epithet or more probably a secondary name of Rājyapāla since it occurs twice in verses 6-7) who was aspiring, as it were, for the status of the lord of the gods by honouring gods and Brāhmaṇas with [the presents of] haughty elephants in rut, principal horses (*aśvorasaiḥ*) [and] men (*bhūmijaiḥ*) that had surrendered [to him] (*upanataiḥ*) [as well as] with land covered with crops [and] many heaps of gold, which were acquired [by him as a result of his victory in wars].” The verse refers to the fact that Rājyapāla obtained the possession of a large number of elephants, horses and [infantry], men (i.e. prisoners made slaves) as well as land and gold belonging to his enemies as a result of his victories over mighty adversaries and that he made presents of them all to the gods and Brāhmaṇas in imitation of Indra. There is no reference here to the Cāṣī Kaivartas. Mr. Lahiry contends that *Dāsa*, which is Yaśōdāsa’s name-ending or family designation, should have to be taken to indicate the Cāṣī Kaivarta community and that *Kuṇḍa*, the name-ending or family designation of his maternal grandfather Sūryakuṇḍa, should have to be taken as the same as *Kuṇḍu* which is now a family name among the Cāṣī Kaivartas. This is absolutely unwarranted. As he has himself pointed out, both *Dāsa* and *Kuṇḍa* are at present known to be the cognomens among various non-Brāhmaṇa communities of Bengal including the Vaidya and Kāyastha. There is also proof to show that even Brāhmaṇas bore the said name-endings or cognomens in early times. Thus the list of the Brāhmaṇa donees in the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman contains the names of seven Brāhmaṇas ending in *Kuṇḍa* and of two Brāhmaṇas ending in *Dāsa*.<sup>2</sup>

6. What has been read by Mr. Lahiry in verse 8 in lines 10-12 as *Gurjjara-Kṛita-cāpai*° (or *vīryai*°) seems to read *Gurjjara-Kṛita-Chīnai*°. Kṛita as the name of a people is known

<sup>2</sup> See Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvali*. pp. 33 ff., Nos. 44-50 and 62 and 165.

from some sources.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Lahiry takes Rājyapāla's claim to have been obeyed by a number of peoples, referred to in this verse, as historical. There is, however, little doubt that it is conventional and not quite reliable from the historian's point of view in the case of most of the peoples mentioned even if a few of them may have been actually subdued by the Pāla king.

7. Mr. Lahiry reads *ārāma-sata-maṭha*<sup>o</sup> in verse 10 in lines 13-14 and observes, "Reading *sata* is doubtful. The metre also does not permit it. Read *pūrtta* for *sata*." The reading of the word in question, however, is *setu*.

8. The second half of verse 12 in lines 16-17 has been read by Mr. Lahiry correctly as:

*śataṁ purāṇān = nikaraṁ niyamya*  
*Madhusravaṁ grāmam = adāt = kṣitīśaḥ.*

But he suggests that *nikaraṁ* should have to be corrected to *niṣkaraṁ* meaning rent-free. Unfortunately he does not notice that this correction violates the metre. He understands the passage as *kṣitīśaḥ purāṇān śataṁ niyamya niṣkaraṁ grāmam Madhusravam = adāt* and translates it as: "Having controlled (=subdued) hundreds of cities, king [Rājyapāla] dedicated the rent-free village of Madhusrava." But this does an injustice to the author who has not committed any metrical error in the document and whose composition exhibits sound knowledge of the Sanskrit language and command over the metres. We are therefore inclined to understand the passage as *kṣitīśaḥ śataṁ purāṇān nikaraṁ niyamya Madhusravaṁ grāmam = adāt*, "the king dedicated the village of Madhusrava after having fixed the *nikara* at one hundred *Purāṇas*. The word *purāṇa* meaning a particular coin is well known while the word *nikara* is used in Sanskrit in the sense of 'a suitable gift' and in Bengali, by an extension of that meaning, in that of 'an amount which is legitimately payable'. As we have shown elsewhere,

3 Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. I, p. 265.



when a small amount of rent was fixed for gift lands, it was often designated by some name other than *kara*, such as *trṇodaka*, *agrahārapradeyāṁśa*, etc.<sup>4</sup> The word *nikara* has been used in the present record in a similar sense. The inscription thus records a *kara-śāsana*. Many such documents discovered in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh are known to us. The Bhāturiyā inscription seems to be the only one of its kind so far found in Bengal.

9. The engraver of the eulogy mentioned in the last stanza (verse 15) in the last line (line 20) seems to be Śrīnidhāna and not Nidhāna as supposed by Mr. Lahiry.

D. C. SIRCAR

4 See *JRAS.*, 1952, pp. 4 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXX, pp. 114-15.

### On the Sātavāhaṇa Sāta, Sāti and Sati

In an article published in this Journal<sup>1</sup> Mr. Gupta has tried to reaffirm his view that there were three Sātavāhana kings bearing the name Sāti.<sup>2</sup> I am afraid I should still have to say that Mr. Gupta has not cared to read my articles<sup>3</sup> on the subject carefully.

The point at issue is not whether the three kings whose names occur on (1) the coins published by Prof. Mirashi, (2) the Nāṇāghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā and (3) one of the Kanheri caves inscriptions are different, but whether they can be regarded as three kings bearing the name Sāti and that Sāti is a name different from Sātakarṇi.

In the case of Mādharīputra *siri* Sāta I did not put the reading Sāti in the "mouth"<sup>4</sup> of Mr. Gupta. I had only said that when Mr. Gupta is thinking in terms of three Sāti kings, how does he include Mādharīputra *siri* Sāta in the list as the form of the name is Sāta, not Sāti.<sup>5</sup> I quote him: "If the reading Mādharīputra *siri* Sāta of the Kanheri inscription is correct, then we have Sāti, the son of Mādharī."<sup>6</sup> Since Mr. Gupta now says that he takes Sāta, Sāti and Sati as the variants of the same name,<sup>7</sup> his use of Sāti in place of Sāta in the name of the above king is correct.

I do not know what makes Mr. Gupta think that I do not take Mādharīputra *siri* Sāta of the Kanheri inscription as different from *Sati* of the Nāṇāghāṭ Inscription. How can that be? Of course, I do think that Sātakarṇi of the Nāṇāghāṭ relievo inscription was not the husband but the son of Nāganikā.<sup>8</sup> It is surprising that Mr. Gupta should attribute to me statements just

1 Vol. XXXII, pp. 425 ff.

2 *JNSI.*, XV, pp. 180 ff.

3 *JNSI.*, XIII, pp. 35 ff; XV, pp. 77 ff; *IHQ.* XXX, pp. 286 ff.

4 *IHQ.*, XXXII, pp. 425-26.

5 *Ibid.*, XXX, p. 486.

6 *JNSI.*, XV, p. 182.

7 *IHQ.*, XXXII, p. 429.

8 *JNSI.*, XIII, pp. 35 ff; *IHQ.*, XXVIII, pp. 68 ff; *JNSI.* XVI, pp. 77 ff.

opposite to what I have actually made on this point. He commits another error immediately after regretting for one. Mr. Gupta writes: "I regret for this error which has crept inadvertently in my paper.....Dr. Katare himself thinks that Sati and Sāti are one and the same. But we differ about the identity of the person. While he takes him to be husband of Nāganikā, I treat him to be her son, as pointed out by Prof. Mirashi."<sup>9</sup>

I have never said that Sati was the husband of Nāganikā, but that he was her son. I identify this Sati of the Nāṇāghāt cave inscription of Nāganikā with Sātakarṇi of the Nāṇāghāt relievo inscription.<sup>10</sup> I quote myself "I have identified Sāti of the coin published by me with Sati, son of Nāganika, of the Nāṇāghāt inscription and then both Sāti and Sati with Sātakarṇi I".<sup>11</sup> It is Prof. Mirashi<sup>12</sup> who has been trying to maintain the view that Sātakarṇi was the husband and not the son of Nāganikā. In this connection I may draw the attention of Mr. Gupta to my articles on the subject published in this Journal<sup>13</sup> and the Journal of the *Numismatic Society of India*<sup>14</sup> and that of Prof. Mirashi<sup>15</sup> published in the latter.

Mr. Gupta takes Sati of the Nāṇāghāt inscription as the son of Nāganikā.<sup>16</sup> This is nothing new as he is mentioned as such in the inscription itself. He has not indicated the relationship between Sātakarṇi and Nāganikā of the Nāṇāghāt relievo inscription.

If all the arguments I have advanced in my previous articles have failed to convince Mr. Gupta or Prof. Mirashi of Sātakarṇi being the son of Nāganikā, I need not make any further attempt to convince them.

9 *IHQ.*, XXXII, pp. 426-27.

10 *JNSI.*, XIII, pp. 35 ff; XVI, pp. 77 ff; *IHQ.*, XXVIII, pp. 68 ff.

11 *IHQ.*, XXX, p. 289.

12 *JNSI.*, XIV, pp. 27 ff.

13 *IHQ.*, XXVIII, pp. 68 ff.

14 *JNSI.*, XIII, pp. 35 ff; XVI, pp. 77 ff. 15 *Ibid.*, XIV, pp. 26 ff.

16 *IHQ.*, XXXII, pp. 426-27; *JNSI.* XV, p. 182.

Mr. Gupta has not cared to take into cognizance Śrī Sāta of the coins published by me,<sup>17</sup> Rapson<sup>18</sup> and Altekar;<sup>19</sup> whether he identifies him with Sati of the Nāṇāghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā or regards him as a different king or whether he regards these coins as belonging to more than one king bearing the name Sāta.

The reading of the name Sāti on the coins published by Prof. Mirashi, I still hold, is not certain; and if at all it is accepted for the sake of an argument it has a metronymic prefixed to it. If 12 *akṣaras* cannot be accommodated on the coin, Mr. Gupta's restoration of the legend cannot be accepted. Mr. Gupta wants me to substitute some other metronymic in place of the one proposed by him, but I would not like to plunge myself into an uncertain adventure.

Mr. Gupta converts... *nasala* read by Mirashi on the reverse of the coin into *Raṇa Sala* and then further transforms it into *Raṇa Sala*.<sup>20</sup> If that is so, *sālīputasa Sātisa* occurs on the obverse and *Raṇa Sala* on the reverse. Is this all not contradictory and confounding? How can you have *sālīputasa Sātisa*, one king, on the obverse and *Raṇa Sala*, another king, on the reverse of the coin.

Unless the legend on this coin is satisfactorily read, it is not possible to identify this king with, or distinguish him, from others. And even if Mr. Gupta's reading is accepted here for the sake of argument how does it serve the purpose of giving legs to three kings bearing the name Sāti ?

Mr. Gupta has now categorically stated that he regards Sāta, Sāti or Sati as different and distinct from Sātakarṇi.<sup>21</sup> In that case the number of kings having Sāta, Sati or Sāti as their name will not be only three but much more. Below I give some of them including the three Sātis discovered by Mr. Gupta.

17 *JNSI.*, XII, pp. 94 ff.

18 *BMCC.*, A & K, p. 1.

19 *JNSI.*, IV, pp. 26 & 28.

20 *JNSI.*, XV, pp. 180-181; *IHQ.*, XXXII, p. 428.

21 *IHQ.*, XXXII, p. 429.

- (1) *Rajño Sālīputasa siri Sāti* (of Mr. Gupta,<sup>22</sup> based on Mirashi<sup>23</sup>, coin).
- (2) *Sati* of the Nānāghaṭ inscription of Nāganikā and *Sāti* of the coin published by me.<sup>24</sup>
- (3) *Māḍharīputra siri Sāta* of a Kanheri Cave inscription.<sup>25</sup>
- (4) *Raño Vāśiṣṭhiputra siri Chaḍa Sāti* of Rapson's coins.
- (5) *Raño Siri Chaḍa Sāti*.<sup>26</sup>
- (6) *Raño go (ta.....na) Sāta*.<sup>27</sup>
- (7) ....Kana.....Sāta.<sup>28</sup>
- (8) *Siri Sāta* of the coins published by me,<sup>29</sup> Rapson<sup>30</sup> and Altekar.<sup>31</sup>

I do not regard *Sāta* of the coins published by me, Rapson and Altekar as one and the same person. These coins belong to *Sātakarṇi* I and *Sātakarṇi* II.

But Mr. Gupta is not correct when he says that "there is no parallel instance in Indian numismatics where short and long form of the names (name)<sup>32</sup> were used by any ruler on the coins of the same type,"<sup>33</sup> "a view which he had expressed earlier also."<sup>34</sup> I had already pointed out that *siri Chaḍa Sātisa* of the coin is no other than *Caṇḍa śrī Sātakarṇi* of the *Purāṇas*.<sup>35</sup> On two coins of Gautamīputra Śrī-Yajña-Sātakarṇi also *Sāta* is used for *Sātakarṇi*.<sup>36</sup> Thus, both the long and short forms of

22 *JNSI.*, XV, pp. 180-182; *IHQ.*, XXXII, pp. 427 ff.

23 *JNSI.*, XIII, pp. 131-133.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 35 ff.

25 *Ibid.*, XXX, pp. 289-90; Rapson *CCBM*: A & K, pp. 30-31.

26 Rapson: *CCBM*: A & K, pp. 32-33; *IHQ.*, XXX, pp. 289-90.

27 Rapson: *BMCC*: A & K, p. 35; *JNSI.*, II, p. 90, PL. VIII, No. 19,

28 *JNSI.*, II, p. 91, PL. VIII, No. 27-28.

29 *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 94 ff. PL. X. 11.

30 *BMCC*: A & K, p. 1.

31 *JNSI.*, IV, pp. 26 & 28.

32 Correction of a misprint.

33 *IHQ.*, XXXII, p. 430.

34 *JNSI.*, XV, pp. 181-82.

35 *IHQ.*, XXX, pp. 289-90.

36 Rapson: *CCBM*: A & K, p. 35; *JNSI.* II, p. 90 PL. VIII, No. 19.

I may add here that *Sātakarṇi* occurs in its abbreviated form *Sāta* on these coins and that *karni* of *Sātakarṇi* is not there because it was not required and not because it is off the flan. I have carefully examined the coins for

the names of these kings have been used unless Mr. Gupta comes forward with the *volte face* that *śrī* Yajña-Sātakarṇi is different from *śrī* Yajña-Sāta and *Śrī* Caḍa Sāti from Caḍa *Śrī* Sātakarṇi.

Sāta has been taken as the abbreviation of Sātakarṇi by all scholars. I have only added that Sati and Sāti being the variants of Sāta are also the abbreviations of Sātakarṇi. The examples quoted above are enough to disprove the view of Mr. Gupta that Sāta, Sati or Sāti are not the abbreviations of Sātakarṇi but names of different persons than Sātakarṇi. Thus, his "only one instance" which he points out in support of his view that Sāti cannot be identified with Sātakarṇi is of no value for the purpose. His view, therefore, cannot be accepted.

SANT LAL KATARE

this purpose in order to anticipate the argument which can be easily advanced that *karni* of Sātakarṇi is off the flan in these coins.

## Historical Significance of the Bhāturiyā Inscription

Rājyapāla has generally been regarded as a weak ruler, having to his credit only the building of lofty temples and excavation of tanks.<sup>1</sup> But the recently discovered Bhāturiyā inscription has led its editor, Sri S. P. Lahiry, to state in the pages of the *Quarterly* (XXXI, pp. 215ff.) that after having stored a large amount of gold, procured big elephants, and built up a large army, Rājyapāla sent out an expedition and made the *Mlecchas*, *Aṅgas*, *Kaliṅgas*, *Vaṅgas*, *Oḍras*, *Pāṇḍyas*, *Karṇāṭas*, *Lāṭas*, *Suhmas* and *Gūrjaras* acknowledge his sovereignty.<sup>2</sup> The verses that he relies on to reach this conclusion are the following: —

*Mātaṅgair* = *mmadagaruvitair* = *upanatair* = *aśvorasair* = *bbūmijai*<sup>3</sup> -  
*ruvuyā śasya-samṛddhayā v(b)ahutithair* = *hemnāñcayair-arjjitaiḥ* /  
*sampakṣā*<sup>4</sup> *duija-devatāḥ surapater* = *āditsunevāspadam*<sup>5</sup>  
*yab śrī-Rāma-parākramaṇa jayinā tantr-ādhikarī kṛtaḥ* // 7 //  
*Mlecchair* = *ucchannakalpaḥ parijanavikalāir* = *Aṅga-Kāliṅga-*  
*Vaṅgair* =  
*Oḍrair* = *uḍḍināḥivair* = *apagata-kapaṭaiḥ Pāṇḍya-Karṇāṭa-Lāṭaiḥ*  
*Submaiḥ sopa-pradānair* = *asi-bhaya-cakitair* = *Gūrjjara-*  
*krīta-cāpair*<sup>6</sup> =  
*ysmais* = *tantrādhikāraṁ vidadhati dadhire bharttur-ājñā*  
*śirobbiḥ* // 8 //

1 *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 57, footnote 50.

2 *IHQ.*, XXXI, p. 218.

3 "*aśvorasair* = *bbūmijaiḥ*" is translated by Mr. Lahiry as "the collection of broad-chested *bbūmijas*; and *bbūmija* is given the sense of a *Vaiśya*, even though it means nothing more than excellent horses born of the soil, i.e., born in India perhaps.

4 Mr. Lahiry proposes to read *samppakṣā* as *sampūjya*. We agree with the emendation, because a verb is needed.

5 Perhaps we should read, "*āditsunaiva*".

6 Mr. Lahiry thinks that we may read "*oiryair*" instead of "*cāpair*". We regard the emendation as unnecessary. For the meaning we assign to the expression see below.

• But the first of these verses,<sup>7</sup> obviously, is the description, not of military preparations but of various charities conferred by Rājyapāla on Brāhmaṇas with a desire to attain heaven. He gave them gold, land, elephants as well as horses; and that such charities were far from rare is known to us from various sources.<sup>8</sup> They would be in tune also with his work described in all the other Pāla records. The second verse would be more to the point, if we could believe that Rājyapāla was strong enough to conquer the whole of India. According to the interpretation given to it by Mr. Lahiry, Rājyapāla's orders were obeyed by the Pāṇḍyas, Karṇāṭas, and the Lāṭas, i. e. the strongest powers of *Dakṣiṇāpatha*; by Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kalingas, Suhmas and Oḍras, i. e. all the states of the east and south east; and by the Gūrjaras and Mlecchas, i. e. the rulers of the northern and western parts of India. The *prasastikāra* could have gone even further, but without convincing any one of the truth of this conventional *digvijaya*, unless there were some other evidence to support these tall claims. The *Mlecchas*, as suggested by Mr. Lahiry, were the Arabs. But with the territories of the Pratihāras lying between Sindh and Magadha, what chances could there

7 Mr. Lahiry's translation is as follows:—

"He (Yaśodāsa) was given the post by the victorious (Rājyapāla) who was like Rāma in prowess, aspired after the status of the King of gods (Indra), on the score of his elephants, infuriated with insolence, the collection of broad-chested *bhūmijas*, the land enriched with crop, the enormous heaps of gold earned, and the worship of gods and Brāhmaṇas".

Here Mr. Lahiry misses the fact that while *dviḥja-devatāḥ* is in the Accusative plural, the means by which they are worshipped are naturally all in the Instrumental case. The worshipper is the *jayi* Rājyapāla, the beings worshipped are the Brāhmaṇas or perhaps Brahmanas and gods, and the means of worship are elephants, horses, crop-bearing land, and gold. "*Mada-garuvitaiḥ*" would thus mean not "on the score of his elephants, infuriated with insolence, but with elephants, intoxicated with rut."

8 See for instance the account of Jagaddeva in the *Prabandbacintāmani*.



be of Rājyapāla coming into contact with the Arabs and of not only defeating but almost destroying them? Equally distant was Lāṭa, the king of which is supposed by Mr. Lahiry to have been "some weak ruler of the Cālukya dynasty almost ruined at that period". Actually, however, Lāṭa was at the time under the powerful Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of Mānyakheṭa and their feudatories, the Paramāras, whose chief, Sīyaka II, issued the Harsolā grant in 942 A.D. The Karṇāṭas, though identified by Mr. Lahiry with the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa, should again be regarded as the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa, who are referred to by this name in our epigraphs at least up to 973 A.D., after which year alone can the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa be regarded as a Karṇāṭa power. There is no reason to believe, that either Kṛṣṇa II or Indra III submitted to Rājyapāla. Equally doubtful is the possibility of Pāṇḍya submission; their name has probably been brought in to justify the poetic claim that Rājyapāla had conquered all the four quarters.

Rājyapāla's fight with the rulers of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinga and Oḍra can be a fact; though the very fact that such a fight could be necessary shows the extremely limited dimensions of the kingdom ruled over by Rājyapāla. That a ruler, with the slender resources that Rājyapāla had, could have defeated powerful contemporaries like Mahīpāla Pratihāra and Indra III seems unlikely. Actually perhaps the *praśastikāra* even hesitated to say so when speaking of the Gūrjaras, because the word Gūrjara comes in only as a qualifying word. If we regard "*Gūrjara-kṛitacapaib*" as adjectival to Suhma, it would mean that the Suhma archers, whose services had been purchased by the Gūrjaras, submitted to Rājyapāla. The expression, as it stands, cannot be given the sense, "Gūrjaras who were won by arrows",<sup>9</sup> suggested by Mr. Lahiry. If Rājyapāla had really been great,

. 9 If it is treated as a *bahuvrihi* compound, it would be expounded as "*Gūrjaraiḥ kṛitaiḥ cāpā yeṣāṃ*". *Gūrjarāśca te kṛitacāpa* "can also be suggested, though it would not be really correct. To have Mr. Lahiry's sense we should have *cāpa-kṛitaiḥ*."

the conqueror of practically the whole of India, there would have been enough of other eulogists also to commemorate his achievements. The fact that he is dismissed merely as a pious ruler in the other *prāśastis* makes us look askance at the claims advanced in the Bhāturiyā inscription, claims which are being buttressed now by what we regard as a mistranslation of verse 7 and partly also of verse 8. We disagree with Mr. Lahiry on some other points too, but these we shall take up later.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

## REVIEWS

THE DEVELOPMENT OF KHAROṢṬHI SCRIPT by Dr. C. C. Das Gupta, Ph. D., (Cantab) published by K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta pages xvi+469.

The main aim of the author of the book is to point out the variations that occurred in the Kharoṣṭhi script found in the documents discovered in India, Chinese Turkestan and elsewhere in the different periods from the 3rd century B.C. to about 3rd century A.D. The present work is more than a paleographical study as in every chapter there appears, as the background, a short but an upto date political history of the period, to which a certain variety of Khāroṣṭhi script belongs, including the names of rulers and their successors as found in the documents of Niya and its neighbouring regions.

The first nine chapters are devoted to the periods of Aśoka, Negama-Coins, Indo-Bactrians, Tribal Coins, Indo-Scythians, Indo-Parthians, Kadphises I & II, the Kuṣāṇas, the Later Kuṣāṇas Khotan Dharmapada and the Kharoṣṭhi documents of Niya, Endere, etc. In Chapter XIV the author deals with the evolution of numerals and in the remaining chapters (XV-XVII), he offers his general observations on the script, its origin and history. There are three valuable appendices dealing with the Kharoṣṭhi script in ancient Persian coins and other documents, and a number of Charts with keys illustrating the scripts of the different periods.

All the Kharoṣṭhi documents discovered so far have a great importance for a history of the spread of Indian culture in Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan. Very distinguished scholars like Sten Konow, Bailey and Burrow have devoted much of their studies to the language and contents of the documents. Recently R. C. Agrawala has written a number of papers on the customs and religious practices found in the documents of Niya, Endere, Loulan etc. Dr. Das Gupta has filled up the lacuna in the studies of Kharoṣṭhi documents by this excellent treatise of his on

Kharoṣṭhi paleography. His study of the scripts is critical, scientific and exhaustive and bespeaks of his thorough knowledge of Indian paleography and indefatigable industry. It is indeed a milestone in the history of Indian paleographical researches. Dr. Das Gupta's method of study and research is worth emulating by our young research scholars.

NALINAKSHA DUTT

STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE  
by U. N. Ghoshal M.A., Ph.D. Orient Longmans, Calcutta  
1957. pp.xxiv+538.

This imposing volume of more than five hundred pages collects together, in a thoroughly revised and convenient form, some of the well-known author's previous writings, and deals, as the title indicates, with certain interesting aspects of Indian history and culture. It consists of seventeen chapters, divided into four parts. The first part, which is a revised and enlarged version of his previous work on Indian Historiography, is the most extensive and informative, and perhaps the least controversial. After tracing the beginnings of historiography in the Vedic and Buddhist literature, it evaluates the current views on the historical tradition found in the Purāṇas, and proceeds to deal comprehensively and critically with Bāṇa's *Harṣa-carita* (pp. 68-145) and Kalhaṇa's *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* (pp. 146-242). The second part of the work criticises the current schematic division of the so-called periods of Indian history. The third part is concerned with studies in Ancient Indian Polity, a subject in which for many years the author has specialised. After giving an exposition of what he considers to be the genius of this Polity, the political significance of the Vedic ceremonies of royal consecration is discussed. We find then a critical study of the characteristics of republican and mixed constitutions, which prevailed from the 6th century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. This is followed by two chapters respectively on the status and functions of king's ministers in ancient Indian polity, and on ancient Indian

administrative terminology. We know that some of these topics are highly controversial and involve a re-examination of previous views, but the author's approach, so far as we can judge, is as objective and critical as the materials at his disposal permit. The last part of the work deals with some interesting topics of more general interest, such as a critical and historical study of the institution of slavery down to 800 A.D., the curious rite of head-offering to the deity, and the career of Divya and Bhīma of ancient Bengal. This part of the work is rounded off with a chapter on the factors which caused the downfall of ancient Indian political civilisation.

In range, versatility and soundness of scholarship the work, which gives us some of the mature views of the author, is indeed a distinct contribution to our knowledge of the difficult subjects embraced in its wide scope. It is a pleasure to find that our author possesses a competent knowledge of Sanskrit which is often sadly lacking in some of our recognised Indian historians. His work, despite its acute criticism of previous views, is characterised throughout by well-balanced judgment and a keen common sense, the most uncommon of things.

SUSHIL KUMAR DE

CATALOGUE OF THE COINS OF THE NĀGA KINGS OF PADMĀVATĪ by Dr. H. V. Trivedi, M. A., D. Litt., Deputy Director of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Madhya Pradesh; published by the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Madhyapradesh, 1957; pp. xl+60 with 1 map and 10 plates.

The book under review is a welcome addition to the meagre literature on Indian numismatics. Its learned author has to be congratulated as one of the few Indians who have published such catalogues of coins in book form.

In an introduction of 40 pages, Dr. Trivedi has discussed such topics as the outline of Nāga history, the coinage and coin-types of the Nāgas, the palaeography of the legends on the

Nāga coins, and the metrology of the coins catalogued and the symbols noticed on them. There are also four appendices on the capitals of the Nāgas, the provenance of the Nāga coins, miscellaneous coins discovered at Pawāyā (ancient Padmāvati) and certain Nāga coins found at Bhilsa.

The introduction is followed by the catalogue in which about 400 coins have been enlisted in 14 sections mostly dealing with the issues of individual Nāga kings. The different varieties of the issues of the same ruler and the symbols on them have been carefully noted. The rulers represented are Vṛṣṇa or Vṛṣabhava (called Vṛṣa or Vṛṣabha in the introduction, p. xii), Bhīmanāga, Skandanāga, Vasunāga, Bṛhaspatināga, Vibhunāga, Ravināga (Ravi in the legends), Bhavanāga, Prabhākaranāga (Prabhākara in the legends), Devanāga (sometimes given as Devendra or Devanāgendra in the legends) and Gaṇapatināga (sometimes given as Gaṇapatīndra, Gaṇapendra or Gaṇendra in the legends). There is also a section (pp. 55-58) dealing with 40 coins, the attribution of which has been regarded as uncertain.

It is difficult to say whether Ravi and Prabhākara actually belonged to the Nāga family. The same appears to be the case with the king whose name has been given variously as Vṛṣa, Vṛṣabha and Vṛṣabhava. Though on one corroded specimen the letters *ṣanāga* have been read by Dr. Trivedi (p. 59, No. 4), the reading cannot be verified from the representation of the coin (Plate V, No. 9). One of the coins of the same king in the Gwalior Museum was shown to me when I visited the Museum in the company of a few young students of Indian numismatics about the end of December 1952. At the request of my young friends, I then gave my reading of the legend as *mahārāja-śrī-Vṛṣabha* and later noticed the coin in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1952-53 (Appendix B, No. 138). In an article published in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XV, 1953, pp. 121-22, the legend on the same coin was quoted as *mahārāja-śrī-Vṛṣanā[ga]*. The correct reading was however indicated by one of my young friends referred to above in the same journal, Vol XVI, 1954, p. 279.

There are many knotty problems confronting the student of the history and coinage of the Nāgas. That the kings of the Nāga lineage were ruling from different centres like Padmāvati, Mathurā, Kāntipurī and Vidiśā is clear from the statements of the Purāṇas. But sometimes coins of the same Nāga ruler are found in more than one of the places mentioned and it is uncertain whether the particular king ruled over a wider area covering more than one of the known centres of Nāga power or the coins issued by the ruler of one area travelled to the other areas. The only Nāga king who is definitely known from a tradition recorded in the *Harṣacarita* to have had his capital at Padmāvati is Nāgasena. But unfortunately none of his coins has as yet been discovered.

Another difficulty is that the chronology of the Nāga rulers excepting Nāgasena, Gaṇpatināga and Bhavanāga and their relations with one another cannot be determined. Nāgasena and Gaṇpatināga were defeated by Samudragupta about the middle of the 4th century while Bhavanāga was the maternal grandfather of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena I who flourished about the second quarter of the same century and may be roughly assigned to its first quarter. Palaeography of the legends on the Nāga coins may suggest in some cases that a particular ruler flourished somewhat later than another. But it is not possible to determine the chronological position of the various rulers satisfactorily on palaeographical grounds. Plates VII-IX of the book under review contain the eye-copies of the legends on Nāga coins dealt with by Dr. Trivedi and scholars are welcome to verify his chronological arrangement of the Nāga kings on the basis of palaeography. The representation of the coins in some cases does not appear to be quite helpful in checking satisfactorily the accuracy of the drawings of some of the letters.

By publishing the volume under review, Dr. Trivedi has earned the gratitude of all students of Indian numismatics.

D. C. SIRCAR

CHĀNDOGYA BRĀHMAṆA with the commentaries of Guṇaviṣṇu and Sāyaṇa. Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series No. 1. Edited by Durgamohan Bhattacharyya, Professor of Vedic Language, Literature and Culture, Department of Post-Graduate Training and Research, Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Published by the Principal, Sanskrit College.

We have here a critical edition of the first two sections of the *Chāndogya Brāhmaṇa*, otherwise known as *Mantrabrāhmaṇa*, together with the commentaries of Guṇaviṣṇu and Sāyaṇa. These sections contain mantras to be used in different domestic rites and many of them are still in use in Hindu religious rites. Prof. Bhattacharyya has already edited another collection of similar mantras with the commentary of one of the two present commentators, viz., Guṇaviṣṇu, in the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat Series, Calcutta. His edition of the *Brāhmaṇasarvasva* of Halāyudha, another work of the same type, is nearing completion in the same Series. He is thus thoroughly conversant with the mantras used in domestic rituals along with their interpretations and this has been of great help in the preparation of the edition under review. This is based on the collation of about a dozen manuscripts belonging to different manuscripts libraries in India and abroad. Published editions of the work and portions of commentary have also been compared for what they are worth. The reconstruction of the text of the commentaries from the manuscript presented considerable difficulties as the commentaries occasionally got mixed up in a manuscript leading to much confusion. Our editor has been able after careful sifting to separate the texts and resolve the confusion. Care has been taken to make the edition helpful to scholars in every way. Thus the text of every mantra is followed by a concordance which refers to the places of occurrence of the mantra in different basic works and records the variant readings. Quotations and references in the commentaries are traced to their sources. Exegetical differences are pointed out from various works. This will be specially helpful in studying the development of exegetical literature particularly with reference to Vedic texts. Valuable indices



(e. g., of mantras, of important words, of works and authors cited by the commentators as also of citations made by them) have been appended to the work. Here is a handsome and useful edition of a Vedic text for which the world of scholars will be thankful to the learned editor for his honest labour and to the Principal of the Sanskrit College and the Government of West Bengal for introducing a new series of publications with the purpose of giving publicity to the research work done in the College.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

STUDIES IN THE UPAPURĀṆAS. Vol. I. Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, No. II. Edited by R. C. Hazra, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt., Professor of Smṛti and Purāṇa, Department of Post-Graduate Training and Research, Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Published by the Principal, Sanskrit College.

Dr. Hazra has made himself famous by his scholarly investigations into the literature of the Purāṇas. The first instalment of these investigations dealing principally with what are called the Mahāpurāṇas was published in book form in 1940 under the title *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*. It was reviewed in these pages in 1941 (Vol. XVII pp. 271-3). Now comes the second instalment with the title *Studies in the Upapurāṇas* of which the first volume is under review. It is gathered that four more volumes will be required to complete the studies and to give a comprehensive analysis of the literature. This volume which deals with Saura and Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas is divided into five chapters. Beginning with a general account of Upapurāṇa literature—its extent, antiquity and origin—it goes on to give detailed critical accounts of individual works, e.g., one Saura Upapurāṇa, three major and five minor Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas. It concludes with short descriptive notes on some lost Upapurāṇas, three Saura and thirteen Vaiṣṇava. These

Notes were compiled on the basis of known fragmentary manuscripts and references found in later works. Of course, further information may be forthcoming in course of time as and when more manuscripts and works come to the notice of scholars. I may point out in this connection that a small extract attributed to the *Brhadvāmanapurāṇa* concerning the protection of all the limbs of Kṛṣṇa is known and recited on the birth of a male child in some families of East Pakistan. It is popularly called *Sarvāṅgarakṣā*. It is found in manuscript as well as in printed form (Calcutta, 1322 B. S.) in many houses, especially of the priests. The work, so far as it goes, contains a mine of valuable information regarding the Upapurāṇas. When the whole series comes to be completed, it is hoped, the world of scholars will have before them an encyclopaedia of the vast Purāṇa literature, a good portion of which is inaccessible or little known. Dr. Hazra's work on the Purāṇas like that of Dr. Kane on the *dharmaśāstras* is expected to be indispensable to every scholar interested in the old literature and culture of India. Other branches of Sanskrit literature, especially the Tantras, stand in the need of similar treatment at the hands of competent scholars.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SELECT INSCRIPTIONS OF BIHAR. By Prof. Radha Krishna Choudhary M. A., Puranshastri, Hindustani Culture Academy Prizeman, F. R. A. S. (London), Head of the Department of History, G. D. College, Begusarai (Bihar).

This booklet gives in Devanāgarī characters the text of one hundred inscriptions presumably found in Bihar—the find-spots of a few are not mentioned—and belonging to periods ranging from the 6th century B. C. to the 17th century A. D. The learned compiler frankly admits: 'I have refrained from giving details about every inscription as foot-notes because they are already there whence I have taken.' But the sources are also not

systematically mentioned. In an introduction gists of the inscriptions are given and occasionally attention is drawn to the importance, either political or cultural, of particular records. There are three appendices: 1. History of Indian Epigraphy—a short review. 2. Reference to Bihar in Inscriptions not included in this volume. 3. Historical geography of ancient Bihar which gives a list of names, with short notes, of ancient towns and villages of Bihar. In a foreword Dr. D. C. Sircar gives a short outline of the history of Bihar, the study of which, he hopes, will be stimulated by the work under review.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

RATNAKIRTINIBANDHAVALI. Tibetan Sanskrit works Series, vol. III. Edited by Prof. Anantlal Thakur, Mithila Sanskrit Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research.

Buddhist scholars made valuable contributions to Indian logic from quite an early period. It is a matter of deep regret that very few of their works have so far come to light and our knowledge about them is mainly drawn from references made to them in known works. Fortunately for the world of scholars a good number of works of these scholars, which were considered as lost, are found among the photographic copies of manuscripts brought from Tibet by Mahāpaṇḍita Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana. Scholarly editions of these works are being published in the Tibetan Sanskrit works series introduced by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, which has already issued two volumes in the series. The present volume publishes twelve treatises of Ratnakīrti of which three were already published by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri through the Asiatic Society of Bengal with the help of manuscripts secured by him. For the remaining nine the learned editor had to depend solely on the photoprints mentioned above. It is difficult to reconstruct an old text from a single old manuscript, especially a photoprint. And the

learned editor seems to have done his task fairly well. In quite a good number of cases where the readings of the manuscript appeared to be wrong he had to suggest emendations. He has identified a large number of quotations found in the treatises. In an introduction he has dealt with the manuscript material, the works and their author, specially the position occupied by him in the history of Indian logic. There are three indices, one of proper names, one of quotations and one of peculiar words.

S. K.

## Select Contents of Oriental Journals

**Annals of Oriental Research, University of Madras,**  
vol. XIV, pts. 1-2 ('57-'58)

V. RAGHAVAN—*The Yukudīpikā on the Sāṅkhyakārikā: Corrections and Emendations in the Text.* This paper, continued from vol. XII of the journal, presents further corrections and emendations of the published texts.

S. SUBRAMANIA SASTRY—*Nyāyadīpāvalī with two Commentaries.* The work is by *Anandabodhācārya* (between 1050 and 1150 A.D.), and the Commentaries are by *Anubhūtiśvarūpācārya* (before 1250 A.D.) and *Sukhaprakāśamuni* (1200-1250 A.D.). They are critically edited by the present author.

S. SHANKER RAJU—*Kulaśekhara Āḷvar and Raskhan: A Comparative Study.* Kulaśekhara Āḷvar was one of the twelve Āḷvars of Tamil and was born to Dittavatha, the King of Calicut in the first half of the 9th century A.D. Raskhan, the Muslim Sardar, flourished in the 2nd half of the 17th century A.D. Though belonging to different religions they were devotees of the Lord Viṣṇu in the forms of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.

**Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,**  
vol. XXXVIII, pts. I-II ('57)

ARYA RAMCHANDRA G. TIWARI—*Some Unknown Sources of the History of Mewar (1565-1628 V.S.).* The unknown sources unravelled here include the *Paṭṭā of Ṭhikānā Delwārā*, *Khyāts ballads*, *two Copper-plates from Kīśangadh*, *Colophons of Jain MSS*, *Khumān-Rāso*.

P. S. SASIRI—*The R̥gvedic Poetic Spirit.*

P. K. GODE—*The History of The Akṣayaṇa (Undecaying Banyan Tree) at Prayāga and Gayā as Revealed by Some Sanskrit Texts—Between the First Century A.D. and 1900.*

S. K. DIKSHIT—*The Problem of the Kuṣāṇas and the Origin of the Vikrama Samvat.* It is continued from the last volume.

SURYAKANTA—*Sāris, Sōma and Sīrā.*

- V. M. BEDEKAR—*Studies in Sāṃkhya : Pāñcaśikha and Caraka.*  
R. D. KARMAKAR—*The Title 'Mahāvīracarita'.*

**Calcutta Review**, vol. 147, no. 3 (June, '58)

CHINMOYEE DEVI—*The Śānta Rasa.* It is an attempt to show from various sources that the *Śānta rasa* is the basis of all the *Rasas*. With the help of differentiating element a particular *Rasa* emerges and when that differentiating element disappears it merges in the *Śānta* again.

**Indian Philosophy and Culture**, vol. III, no. 2, (June, '58)

INDRACHANDRA—*Jain Theory of Knowledge.*

URMILA RANI SHARMA—*The Influence of Theism on Buddhism.*

**Jaina Antiquary**, vol. XXI, no. II, (Dec '55)

AMRIT LAL SASTRI—महाकवि वाग्भट और उनका काव्यानुशासन (Mahā-kavi Vāgbhaṭa and his Kāvya-anuśāsana).

**Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan**, vol. II, ('57)

M. SHAHIDULLAH—*The Philology of the Pashto Language.*

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S. A. Q. HUSAINI—*The History of the Madura Sultanate*—  
The discussion covers the entire period beginning from the establishment of the Sultanate in 1333 A.D. to 1378, when it came to an end.

**Journal of the Bihar Research Society**

vol. XLII, pts. III & IV (Sept-Dec. '56)

V. V. MIRASHI—*The Epoch of the Gaṅga Era.*

ANIMA SENGUPTA—*Śūnya-vāda in Nyāya-Sūtra—A critical exposition.*

S. V. SOHONI—*Vina Coin Type of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I*

**Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute**

vol. XV, pts. 1-2 (Nov. '57-Feb. '58)

TARASANKAR BHATTACHARYA—*Gangeśa's Treatment of General-Non-Existence (Sāmānyābhāvaḥ).*

P. S. SASTRI—*The Ṛgvedic Theory of Drama.*—The writer gives some hints about the dramatic contents of the Ṛgveda. In

the earlier stage, stage Ballad and Drama were indistinguishable. The dramatic hymns are X. 10., X. 95., I. 179., III. 33., etc.

- TAPO NATH CHAKRAVARTI—*References to Certain Rites and some Flora in the Early Sanskrit Literature and Inscriptions of Bengal.* The *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī (early part of the 12th cent. A.D.) gives in the 3rd chapter of his work a description of the trees and plants of Varendrī (North Bengal), home of the poet. They are specially discussed here.
- R. S. BHATTACHARYA—*Some Broad Aspects on Indian Grammar and the Theory Sphoṭa.*

**Journal of Indian History**,—vol XXXV, pt. 11 (Aug. '57)

- D. B. DISKALKAR—*Classification of Indian Epigraphical Records.*
- P. B. Desai—*Jainism in Kerala.*

**Ibid.**,—vol, XXXV, pt. III (Dec. '57)

- D. B. DISKALKAR—*Materials on which Indian Epigraphical Records were Incised.* The author classifies the epigraphical records on the basis of the stone materials used for inscriptions, viz., rocks, caves, rock-cut temples, columns and pillars, pedestals of stone images, statues, sculptures, architectural pieces, etc.
- M. AROKIASWAMI—*Democratic Experiments in Ancient South India.*

**Journal of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda**,  
vol. VI, No. 2 (Oct '57)

- V. A. J. NAKI—*Historical Geography of Settlements in Kerala.* In this paper the development of settlements in Kerala from the early times to the 18th cent. is discussed, drawing upon the sources of ancient literature, local histories, and the reports by traders and travellers.

**Ibid.**, vol VII no. 1 (March, '58)

- A. G. JAVADEKAR—*The Double-Edged Catuṣkoṭi of Advaita Vedānta.*
- UMAKANT P. SHAH—*Brahma-Sānti and Kaparddi Yakṣas.*

*Ibid.*, vol. VII, no. 3 (March '58)

S. N. VYAS—*Religious Beliefs in the Rāmāyaṇa*.

V. M. KULKARNI—*Śītā-Rāvaṇa Kathānaka of Hemacandra*.

ŚIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYYA—*Kālidāsa and the Harivaṃśa*.

H. C. BHYANI—*Caturmukha, one of the Earliest Apabhraṃśa Epic Poets*. Facts about the life of this Apabhraṃśa poet have been culled from the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of Bhoja. His poetic works are *Abdhimathana* and *Sandhibandha*.

*Ibid.*,—vol. VII, no. 4 (June, '58)

ANANTALAL THAKUR—*Influence of Buddhist Logic on Alaṅkāra Śāstra*. The purpose of the paper is to show that Buddhistic elements made a permanent impression on the Alaṅkāraśāstra in its hey days and continued to exert the same influence unabatingly long after the decline of Buddhism in India. This was perhaps because, both the Buddhist Logic and Philosophy and the Alaṅkāra Śāstra thrived in the land of Kāśmir.

B. J. SANDESARA—*The Śaṅkhaparābhava Vyāyoga, A Historical Sanskrit Play by Harihara (13th cent. A.D.)*

U. P. SHAH—*Geographical and Ethnic Data from the Kāśyapa Saṃhitā*. The various uses of certain words, common to Sanskrit, Pāli, and Ardhamāgadhī, are discussed here. They are *cora*, *gaṇikā* and *veśyā*.

**Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,**  
pts 1 and 2 (1958)

DUNCAN M. DERRETT—*A Strange Rule of Smṛti and a Suggested Solution*.—The author deals with the problem of the inheritance of a woman to the property of her parents or husband. A restricted inheritance was prescribed by various lawgivers and jurists of ancient India.

C. HOOPYKAAS—*Four-line Yamaka in the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa*.

**Journal of the University of Bombay,** vol. XXVI,  
(New Series), pt. 2 (Sept. '57)

H. D. VELANKAR—*Agni Hymns in Maṇḍala VIII*.



N. J. SHENDE—*The Mythology of the Yajurveda.*

V. R. PANDIT—*Origin and Growth of Jyotiṣa Śāstra.* An account of the five ancient Siddhāntas which mark the beginning of scientific astronomy is given here. Of these the Romaka Siddhānta seems to be of late origin.

JAYADEVA YOGENDRA—*Sāṃkhya in the Mokṣa-parvan.*

S. A. DAUGE—*The Pāṇḍava Riddle.* Many non-Aryan customs got mixed up with those of the Aryans and this led some scholars to believe that the Pāṇḍavas were non-Aryans. The problem is discussed in the paper.

**Our Heritage, vol. III, pt. II (July-Dec. 55)**

S. K. DE—*Wit Humour and Satire in Ancient Indian Literature.* The scholar deals with the secular side of literature and delves into every branch of it in this exhaustive essay. The religious tendency in our literature infused seriousness into it and so humour, wit and satire could not remain the primary motive there.

KALIDAS BHATTACHARYYA—*The Indian Concept of Knowledge and Self (3rd instalment).*

DURGA MOHAN BHATTACHARYYA—*The Condition of Vedic Studies in Ancient and Mediaeval Bengal as Reflected in Epigraphic Records and Literary References.* A large number of epigraphic records and various types of literary references are adduced in the paper as evidence of the existence of distinguished Vedic scholars in ancient Bengal. The learned sages of Bengal were honoured in other parts of India for their proficiency in the Veda. Vedic *Bhāṣyas* left by them are living proofs of their attainments in Vedic learning.

R. C. HAZRA—*The Sources of Dharma.*

VIMAN CHANDRA BHATTACHARYY—*An Aspect of Justification of Ṛk-Mantras in the Atitareya Brāhmaṇa.*

JOYDEB GANGULY—*The Basic Authorities Utilised in the Smṛti Works of Mithilā.*

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## The Vaitānasūtra\*

### X

1. In the animal sacrifice the Brahman dedicates a full-spoon offering to Viṣṇu by reciting the stanza: "Far, Oh Viṣṇu" (VII. 26. 3. f).

2. While the tree, of which the sacrificial post is made, is cut down he (the Brahman) recites the stanza: "Of the hostile" (X. 6. 1).

3. The washing of the sacrificial post is to be perpetrated with the recitation of the stanza: "That to you, who are experienced in the art." (X. 6. 3).

4. The anointing (i. e. rubbing of the cream all over the post) is to be done with the recitation of the stanza: "You, please anoint, anoint thoroughly" (XVIII. 3. 18).

5. The polishing (of the same) is to be done well concomitantly with the utterance of the stanza: "To me, who am well polished" (VII. 33). [The rubbing of the cream upon the same is to be perpetrated with the recital of the Gandhapravāda stanzas (XII. 1. 23-25).]

6. Rolling of the same with the garment is to be performed with the recital of the stanza: "Which garment to you" (VIII. 2. 16).

7. When the Yūpa is placed on the sacrificial straw the Brahman recites the stanza: "Oh tree, on the spread straw" (XII. 3. 33).

8. The erecting of the post is to be performed with the utterance of two stanzas: "Oh tree, together" (XII. 3. 15) and "Upon which the sadas" (XII. 1. 38).

9. The laying down of the lower part of the Yūpa into the pit is to be perpetrated with the recital of the stanza: "Stand firmly as supporter" (XII. 3. 35).

\* Continued from *IHQ.*, vol. 34, no. 2 June, 1958, Supplement, page 29.

10. The raising of the same is to be perpetrated with the recital of two stanzas: "The feats of Viṣṇu (VII. 26. 6-7).

11. The (eleven) preliminary offerings are to be dedicated with the recital of (eleven) stanzas of the hymn: "Kindled to-day" (V. 12).

12. Of those, which glorify the Narāśaṃsa, the second (the second preliminary offering concerning the Narāśaṃsa) is to be dedicated with the utterance of the stanza: "A god among the gods" (V. 27. 2).

13, 14. In an animal sacrifice on the occasion of the distribution of fires the Brahman performs the preliminary sacrifice with the recital of the stanza: "Raised are his" (V. 27). Then certain performances take place, of which the first is indicated by the words: "Lead him here" (IX. 15. 1) and the last is anointing (with butter).<sup>1</sup>

15. Then he recites the stanza: "The share to Indra" (IX. 5. 2) which should be modified according to the difference of gods, to whom the animal is sacrificed.

16. During the untying of the animal the Brahman recites: "Who commands" (II. 34. 1).

17. While it is carried (to the Śamitra-fire) he should offer a gift specially meant for untying by reciting the stanzas: "Oh shepherd of the world! may our sacrificial animal, which is let loose, obtain its due share. Being fully conversant may god Agni carry to the gods their food—which is the sacrificial offering, that contains three folds and seven threads. Your two fangs

1 We have followed Caland, who construes the word *paśau* of the sūtra 14 as a part of the sūtra 13. Caland points out that such an emendation finds support from certain Vedic texts, e. g. Kāty XVI. 1. 11., Mahidhara at Vāj. S. XXVII. 29. *Iṣṭikā paśu* is a consecrated animal, particularly a goat which is dedicated to Prajāpati. The above-referred performances include Anumantraṇa at the time of the bringing of the animal, carrying of the fire as also of the killed animal, washing of the feet of the animal, cutting of the same, throwing into fire of the sacrificial offerings, pouring down of water, taking the animal from the fire and the anointing of the same with butter.

which tear (others) hang down towards the right and they stand opposite to each other. Oh father! may the sacrificial offering, which is tied to the post and which we have resigned (just now) not imperil us. Being propitious and uninjured may you proceed further and run to the stable of Indra being fully cognisant of the way. May the wise and judicious brush you granting recreation and strength to the sacrificer.

18. When the animal is killed they go round it turning (at first) to the right

19. During the offering of the fat he pronounces the aphorism: "Oh Jātavedas, with the fat" (Kauś. sūtra 45. 11). By reciting the Śambhū and Mayobhū stanzas (I. 5 and 6) they cleanse themselves on the Cātvalā.

20. With suitable stanzas the Brahman offers the sacrificial cake, dedicated to Indra-Agni and the sacrificial gift, prepared from the body of the killed animal.

21. Called upon (by the Adhvaryu) the Āgnīdhra brings the charcoal for subsequent offerings from the Śamitra fire and piles it up before the Hotṛ.

22. When the pike for piercing the heart of the animal is placed (upon the surface of the earth) they mutter the hymn: "Oh king! to you in the water" (VII. 83).

Here ends the second chapter of the Vaitāna-sūtra, annexed to the Atharva-veda.

## XI

1. He, who intends to perform the Soma sacrifice, offers a bull to Indra-Agni, provided his father and grand-father have not drunk the Soma (i.e. have not performed the Soma sacrifice).

2. He selects the sacrificial priests—one as Brahman, who is conversant with the Atharvan and the Āngiras,—one as Udgātṛ, who is versed in the Soma-lores,—one as Hotṛ, who is (thoroughly) acquainted with the Ṛgveda and another as Adhvaryu, who is deeply imbued with the knowledge of the Yajus.



3. Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin, Potṛ and Āgnīdhra are the associates of the Brahman, so is also the Sadasya, Prastotṛ, Pratihotṛ and Subrahmaṇya are (the helpers) of the Udgātṛ; Maitrāvaruṇa, Acchāvāka and Grāvastut of the Hotṛ and Pratiprasthātṛ, Neṣṭṛ and Unnetṛ of the Adhvaryu.

4. In the spring the Soma sacrifice takes place according to the variety of the caste. The conditions suitable for a sacrificial place are stated by the rule "The sacrificial place" (Kauś sūtra 60.18) (and the same obtain here too.)

5. The place should be such that by its eastern side there occur a pit, a cleft, a tree, a river or a path. On the eastern side there should not be space enough for a second sacrifice.

6. The Brahman directs all his attention to the forms (the respective forms) of the Soma.

7. In the Dikṣaṇīyā (īṣṭi) he offers the sacrificial cake to Agni-viṣṇu with the recital of aphorisms.

8. It ends in the Patnīsaṁyāja.

9. While the consecrated person is anointed by the Adhvaryu, he mutters the stanza: "The Anointing" (VI. 124.3).

10. He utters the stanza: "It will purify me" (VI. 19.1), while he is purified by a tuft of Darva.

11. While he is asked to sit upon the skin of a black goat he utters: "The well-protected" (VII. 6.3).

12. After he is solemnly declared as consecrated by the Adhvaryu, he may move of his own accord.<sup>2</sup>

13. When the sun sets, he (the Dikṣita) after breaking silence pays homage to the sun with the stanza: "Reverence to the disappearing" (XVII. 1.3) and worships the stars with the formula: "May the glow and the beams of the stars protect me".<sup>3</sup>

2 Caland points to the fact that the Yajamāna is not at liberty to leave his seat, but the priests can do it if they so like.

3 As pointed out before, here too Caland does not seem to have correctly translated *upatiṣṭhate*, which means 'worships.' Secondly *mā avatām* should better be interpreted as 'protect me' than as 'promote me,' which Caland suggests.

14. On the south of the Āhavanīya fire there take place certain performances, of which the first is indicated by the utterance of the word "Cushion" and the last is looking to (some phenomena).<sup>4</sup>

15. (After the observation ceremony is over) to him, who is mentioned in the mantra he (the Dīkṣita) pronounces the stanza: "Again, let breath" (VI. 53. 2).<sup>5</sup>

16. When the sun is up he worships the sun with the formula: "May the glow and the rays of the sun protect me" and the stanza: "Homage to the rising" (XVII. 1. 22).<sup>6</sup>

17. The rites, (which the Dīkṣita is to observe), are the following:

18. He does not rise before any person, nor pays obeisance to anybody.

19. He does not (ordinarily) call anybody by name, but at the end of the name he utters the word "Vicakṣaṇa" in the case of the brahmin but "canasita" in the case of the Kṣatriya.<sup>7</sup>

20. He should not perform the distribution of daily gifts, sacrifice, cooking and the Veda-studies.

21. He should avoid the (twelve) good activities.

22. He should bear a head-band.

23. He should clench the fist.

24. (After the period of Vāgyamana is over) he should raise up the first three fingers beginning from the thumb.

25. He should take the horn of a stag and scratch with the same.

26. When he has not maintained the reservation of speech or slackened his fist he should mutter (this formula).

4 Caland suggests that instead of *Kaśipvetyādi* one should read *Kaśipvityādi*.

5 We have given the above translation in the light suggested by Caland; but we think that the correct translation should be: (After the observation ceremony is over) the Dīkṣita utters what has been stated in the hymn: "Again, let breath."

6 As before Caland does not seem to be accurate in his translation.

7 Caland suggests that the expression *Prājāpatya* refers to a Kṣatriya.

## XII

1. After I turn from the east to the west may the Agnihotra and the Full-moon sacrifice—both enter into me with imperishableness granting me the fulfilment of my desires.

After I turn from the west to the east may the night-shelter and the New-moon sacrifice (Both enter into me etc.) After I turn from the south to the north may the soul and the ancestor-sacrifice (both enter into me etc.)

After I turn from the north to the south may the voice and the Iṣṭi (both enter into me etc.)

After I turn from here (from below, from the earth) to above may the seed and the food (both enter into me etc.) As I turn from there (from above) to below may the power of sight and the animal sacrifice (both enter into me etc.)

2. After the end of the consecration he mutters these formulae for the achievement of the good.

3. During the consecration when he stands outside the altar the Sun should not rise or set over his head; the Sun should not shine upon him except while he is in the Dhiṣṇya.

4. He should speak the truth.

5. In case of violation of rites he worships the Āhavanīya fire with the words: "If out of carelessness" (VII. 106).<sup>8</sup>

6. After he has taken a clod of earth with the stanza: "Great truth" (XII. 1, 1) he passes urine and stool (in the hole) while he mutters the stanza: "May the water purify us" (XII. 1. 30). By the clod of earth he purifies himself, while he utters the half-stanza: "Oh earth, by the purifier" (I. c. cd).

7. If his staff or something like it be broken the Dīkṣita always recites the stanza: "Whoever without" (XIV. 2. 47). Whatever he will have to do as atonement for inauspicious dreams has been treated before and such a course is prescribed here too if the occasion arises. Eventually here too there is an

8 Here too Caland does not seem to have correctly translated the word *apatīṣṭhate*.

occasion for performing the ritual, which is indicated by the words: "From the heaven to me" (VI. 124).

8. If he throws saliva he mutters the following stanza to himself: "If I have spat here too being totally careless of the sweet, may Agni and Savitṛ push the saliva into my mouth."

9. If he discharges semen he utters the stanza: "I invoke here whatever of my energy has come out of me in my state of carelessness; may that help me to be replenished."

10. While he has spoken something not sanctioned by the (Sāstras he mutters the stanza "Go off far" (V. 7. 7).

11. During the crossing of the water he should utter the stanza: "The stony" (XII. 2. 26).

12. If there be showers of rain upon him while he stands in an uncovered place, he utters the stanza: "The water from the ocean" (IV. 27. 4).

13. If there be an outburst of anger he should mutter: "Down like the string" (VI. 42).

14. From the milk of a cow, of which the calf has got the similar colour he (the Brahman) prepares a cake (of rice), anoints it, removes it in the north (of the fire), raises it up, utters the word *him* over it (i.e. the cake) and pours down over it the residue of the butter, dedicated to gods with the recital of the Garbhavedana (II. 23) and Puṁsavana (V. 25) hymns and (at last) makes his wife eat the same while she is in her period of menstruation.<sup>9</sup>

### XIII

1. In a Jyotiṣtoma (-sacrifice) three days are necessary for the Dikṣā, or a countless number of days; for Abhina, however, only twelve.

2. At the end of the Dikṣā in the Prāyaṇīyā (-iṣṭi) the Brahman concomitantly with the recital of aphorisms dedicates the sacrificial gifts to Pathyā svasti, Agni, Savitṛ and Aditi, but

9 Caland rightly points out that the expression *parām* in the sentence is superfluous and unnecessary, because we have already got the word *jāyām* as the object of the verb *prāśayet*.

while dedicating to the first (i.e. Pathyā) he recites two stanzas: "The rich paths" (III. 4.7) and "The bundle of the Vedas for the good" (VII.28.1): (those, which are to be recited for other sacrificial gifts are according to the Vait. 1.3).

3. It (the Prāyañīyā-iṣṭi) ends in Śamyu.

4. (With the Anumantraṇa) the Brahman offers the full-spoon gift from the Dhruvā.

5. With the stanza: "Under whose wide" (VII. 263) the Brahman comes out of the hut (where the above-referred sacrifice takes place) and to the cow, which serves as the fee for Soma-purchase and which is led to the eastern or the northern direction he addresses the stanza: "Mount upon the sky" (XIII. 1. 34).

6. During the sacrifice of the seventh foot-step he recites the stanza: "The place of Idā" (III. 10. 6)

7. In the place, where (later) the sound holes (would be made), he (the Brahman) holding gold (i.e. a ring) in his hand, sifts the Soma upon the skin of a bull, while he utters the hymn: "To this" (VII. 14).

8. Then he whispers the hymn: "This thousand" (VII. 22).

9. When the Soma purchase is complete he (the Brahman) takes the head-band from the consecrated.

10. With the stanza: "With a long life" (III. 31. 10) he (the Brahman) rises to meet the Soma, (which is brought to him).

11. While the Soma is brought in front he goes to the south of the fire and mutters the Apratiratha hymn (XIX. 13).

12. While the king Soma is brought from the chariot, on which he mounts at the time of his journey and is placed on the seat, he pronounces the stanza: "The firm with the firm" (VII. 94).

13. In the Ātithya-iṣṭi while the Soma is placed on the seat in the south of the Āhavanīya fire he (the Brahman) touches the sacrificial gift (i.e. the sacrificial cake which is baked upon

nine pans and is dedicated to Viṣṇu) with the hymn: "The sacrifice through the sacrifice" (VII. 5).<sup>10</sup>

14. During the dedication of the sacrificial cake to Viṣṇu he (the Brahman) utters the stanza: "Now of Viṣṇu" (VII. 26. 1)

15. The Iṣṭi ends with the dedication of the Idā.

16. He (the Adhvaryu) pounds the grease for five times in a Tānūnaptra vessel by uttering the formulas: "I draw you here for the lords," "I draw you all around for the lords", "I draw you for the Tānūnaptr", "I draw you for the powerful," "I draw you for the strongest among the strong."

17. They (the sacrificial priests along with the sacrificer) touch the grease (ājyā) with the formula: "You are unattacked, unassailable, the power of gods, the protector from curse and himself not subject to curse; may the lord of consecration approve my consecration, the lord of asceticism my penance; may I directly reach to the holy truth, lead me to fortune; (here only) the initiated pronounces the aphorism, which contains the catch word 'consecrated'.

19, 20. The Adhvaryu enquires to the Āgnīdhra: "Āgnīdh! does the water boil"? The Āgnīdhra replies: "Boils indeed the water, which is divine and which is strengthened by Ṛta".<sup>11</sup>

21, 22. The Adhvaryu utters: "Come with it"; thus the Āgnīdhra raises it ( the waters ) by the string of the kuśa grasses.

10 Caland reads *abbimṛśati* in the place of *abbimṛśanti* of the text of Garbe. He compares it with *etair evātithyam abbimṛśed yajñena yajñam ayajanta devāti*. Gop. Brāh. II. 2. 11. s. f.

11. Caland emends *ṛtāvṛta* of Garbe's text as *ṛtāvṛdha*, which he translates as 'das ṛta-starkende' i.e. "one, which is strengthened by Ṛta" or "one, which strengthens the Ṛta," But if one follows Garbe one should translate the expression as....."which is covered by Ṛta," instead of what has been suggested by Caland.

23. After they have touched the water with their hands they (i. e. the sacrificial priests and the sacrificer) make the Soma increase and while doing it they pronounce the following stanzas: "Oh king Soma! may you grow thread by thread for Indra, who wins the booty. May Indra grow for you, may you grow for Indra. Make us, your friends, rich in acquisitions, wisdom, posterity, and possessions. Oh god Soma! for well being I shall bring the pressing to successful completion.

24. After they have touched the water again, raising their hands, of which the back sides they have placed downwards over the *prastara* they beg apology with the formula: "Treasures are desired to be acquired through the sacrifice, gifts are desired; for strength and wealth the Ṛta is praised to the expounders of the Ṛta, reverence to the heaven, reverence to the earth!"<sup>12</sup>

25. After he (the Brahman) has offered his preliminary gifts to the Pravargya he sits down in the south of the Gārhapatya.

26. He (a good Yajamāna) does not perform the Pravargya at the first Soma-sacrifice. A learned brahmin, who has studied the Vedas, may do it according to his own sweet will.

27. After the Adhvaryu has placed something between them (i. e. has closed the eastern-door of the Prācīna-vaiśa cottage) he utters: "Brahman, we intend to proceed with the fire (i. e. the Pravargya.)"

28. To it he (the Brahman) grants permission with the words: "Proceed, the fire (etc. as in Vait. 2. 1)."

29. He grants the permission from beginning to end in a clear voice or in a low.

<sup>12</sup> Caland translates *eṣṭā vāmāni* as 'hergebracht Güter' i.e. "gifts are brought," but we like to interpret it as "gifts are desired." In other words we like to take the word *eṣṭā* in the same sense, in which it has been used in the preceding expressions i.e. *eṣṭā rayah*.

30. While the Gharma (i. e. the vessel of Pravargya) is heated he (the Brahman) sits on the south of it and mutters the following stanzas.

#### XIV

1. I heat the glow (i. e. Gharma) with streams of immortality (i. e. ambrosia) and offer the gifts to the gods and Savitr. May the gods take the brilliant and cooked offering resigned into their mouth, the offering which is the source of immortality. Gharma, the lord of the gods comes and shining with the Rta it shows the immortality. Oh lord of the sky! You are of golden colour; as Gharma, as the Sun—you traverse the ends of the heaven shining by your own splendour. Gharma as the resplendant fire, sparkling and shining by its glow, crosses the Ocean (of the atmospheric air). The wise Sun has mounted upon the vault of the sky putting my enemies to flight and burning out-right my rivals. Rising the immortal Gharma shines and sheds beams all around—may appear within the depth of waters. Gharma is the killer of Vṛtra and stands also as the face of the horses of the Sun;—unassailable indeed are the limbs of the Sun. The glow is behind—the glow is in front; we will certainly consign our enemies too to the iron-fanged (fire). May Vaiśvānara, shining in cold and heat, kill all my rivals and enemies. Gharma—the solitary hero, shining and kindled by faggots, by performing religious activities warms the Ṛtus in all the seasons. The holy aphorism kindles you, Gharma is thousand times illuminated by aphorisms, splendour and the faggots. May my enemies disperse from all the quarters. May the Sun—the Vaiśvānara and the yellow-coloured lord, kill all my rivals. May the glowing Gharma—the bull burn my enemies and the hostile relations. May the shining Āditya, who rises (by piercing the veil of gloom)—the Sun kill all my adversaries. Further, there are to be recited the stanzas: “The Brahman, who is born” (IV. 41. 1) and “This paternal” (IV. 1. 2); as commanded by the Hotṛ he indeed recites the stanzas



according to the Śāstras—half-verse by half-verse without reference to the invocation and response.<sup>13</sup>

2. He (the Brahman) mutters the stanza: “You are the splendour” (XVII. 1. 2) immediately after the Gharma (i. e. the Mahāvīra, the Pravargya-vessel) is arranged for being heated (by the fire).<sup>14</sup>

3. When they (i.e. the Adhivaryu and others) rise in order to milch the cow, which would yield milk for the Pravargya ceremonial (the Brahman) addresses them the hymn: “Rise, see” (VII. 72).

4. He pronounces to the Gharma-cow the stanza: “I invoke” (VII. 73).

5-8. With the recital of the Gharma-hymn (VII. 73) he dedicates the offering of the Gharma (i.e. the hot milk). He (the Brahman) recites the two stanzas: “Done with Svāhā” (VII. 73. 3-4) during the two Vasaṭ and Anuvasaṭ-calls of the Gharma. The eating of the residue takes place as in the case

13 In the sentence *sapatnāḥ pradiśo me bhavantu* the word *sapatnāḥ* should be substituted by the expression *asapatnāḥ* according to Caland, who introduces the change on the authority of the concordance of Bloomfield. It gives a good sense no doubt. Again the use of the word *pradiś* in the sense of “region” is quite regular in the Vedic literature, which supports the emendation and the interpretation. We have given the translation above in this light, which has been thus suggested by Caland. But *sapatnāḥ* seems to be the correct reading on account of the repeated use of the word *sapatnā* in this verse. We note the following: *nudān chatrūn pradāham me sapatnān* (c) *me diviṣato bantu sarvān sapatnān* (e) *sapatnāḥ pradiśo me bhavantu* (f) *sapatnān sarvān me sūrya bantu* (g). So we think that the reading *sapatnāḥ* should be maintained and the revision of the text is uncalled for. A consistent meaning may, however, be devised. The word *diś* means “place, region, quarter etc’ among with many. So *pradiśo* means “those, who have lost their places” and the word should be expounded as *pragatāḥ diśaḥ yeṣām te*. So the line should mean: “May my enemies lose their territory.” New, we must admit that it is just a suggestion and we are not very sure of our interpretation.

14 Caland suggests the reading *gharmadbugdohāya* for *gharmadug-dbohāya* of the text of Garbe.

of the whey (comp. Vait. 8. 15, 16a) with the formula: "The sacrificial gift is prepared, honey serves as the offering; oh Gharma, we intend to partake you, who are united with the honey, the procreative power, Br̥haspati and All-gods." It is drunk in the Sattrā by the Hotṛ, the Adhvaryu, the Udgātṛ, the associates of the priests and the Gṛhapati. In the Ucchiṣṭa-khara they (i.e. those, who participate in the function) wash their hands with the help of purifying grasses.<sup>15</sup>

9. When the stanza: "As a result of good pasture" (RS I. 164.40) is three times pronounced by the Hotṛ the Brahman offers his concluding gift.

## XV

1. In the Upasad (celebration) the Brahman offers gifts to Agni, Soma and Viṣṇu (with the utterance of aphorisms).

2. It ends with the utterance of Vaṣaṭ and there takes place the ceremony of swelling (i.e. achieving prosperity) and begging apology.

3. When the Adhvaryu says: "Agnīdh, mention the names of the wives" the Āgnīdhra, who stands behind the Gārhapatya fire and turns his face towards the east, in a breath recounts the wives of gods: "Pṛthvī is the wife of Agni, Vāc is the wife of the wind, Senā of Indra, Dhenā of Br̥haspati, Pathyā of Puṣan, Gāyatrī of the Vasus, Triṣṭubh of the Rudras, Jagatī of the Ādityas, Anuṣṭubh of Mitra, Virāj of Varuṇa, Pañkti of Viṣṇu and Dīkṣā of the king Soma."

15 Caland suggests *vaṣaṭkṛte anuvaṣaṭkṛte* for *vaṣaṭkṛte'nuvaṣaṭkṛte*. The Sandhi is prohibited because the former are the forms of the acc. dual. Caland wants to introduce some changes in the text of Garbe, which reads as: *śṛtam havir madhu havir aśvāvate, gharma madhumataḥ* etc. The revised text of Caland stands as: *śṛtam havirmadhu havir aśyāma te gharma madhumataḥ* etc. The translation, which we have given above is in the light of emendation, suggested by Caland. Again, the portion *anucarā gṛhapati* of sūtra 8 is construed with the preceding sūtra.

4. On every occasion when the Subrahmanya is invoked, he mutters the three stanzas: "On which the Sadas" (XII. 1. 38-40).

5. In the same way the Pravargya and the Upasad take place in the afternoon. Next day (the same happen) both in the morning and the afternoon; on the Upavasatha day both (i.e. the Pravargya and the Upasad of the fore-and afternoons) are combined together.

6. In the same manner three Upasads are necessary for the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice and twelve for the Abhina.

7. While the Adhvaryu measures the (great) Vedi, the Brahman recites the stanza: "Measure out" (XIII. 1. 27).

8. During the (first) enclosing of the Vedi he recites the stanza: "On which they the Vedi" (XII. 1. 3)

9. When the fire is transplanted (to the Uitaravedi) he mutters: "Oh Agni! advance forward" (IV. 14.5) and casting a look to the activities, that are going on around) sits outside the Mahāvedi.

10. While offering a sacrificial gift to the track of the right Havirdhāna (car) he (the Brahman) utters the stanza: "Viṣṇu has this" (VII. 26. 4), but at the time of offering (a gift) to that of the left the stanza: "Three steps" (VII. 26.5).

11. While the two Havirdhāna cars are drawn forward he utters the two stanzas: "From here to me" (XVIII. 3. 38.39).

12. While a support is erected for fixing of the two Havirdhāna cars he pronounces the stanza: "Of Viṣṇu, however" (VII. 26. 1).

13. The sacrifice to the post of fig tree is to be perpetrated with the utterance of the stanza: "I consider you, heaven and earth" (IV. 26).

14. When he (the Brahman) is asked by the Adhvaryu to grant permission for the bringing forward of the Agni and Soma, he approaches to the Prācīnavamśa (cottage) by the right way (i.e. the way which leads to the altar, that lies between the

•Cātṽāla and the Utkara.) The right way passes by between the Cātṽāla and the Utkara and remains to the north of the place, where subsequently the Āgnīdhriya fire is kindled and also to the north of the Sadas.

15. Then he performs certain rites, of which the first is the sipping of water and the last is the casting of a glance (at the seat).

16. While the Agni and the Soma are led forward he pursues (them) by reciting the half-verse: "To the king Soma" (III. 20. 4. onwards).

17. After offering a gift to the Āgnīdhriya fire he goes to the north of it (i.e. the Āgnīdhriya fire) but behind the Āhavanīya fire and takes his seat in a place which is reserved for him (in the south of the Āhavanīya for attending certain performances).

18. Now, for the offering of the consecrated gift to the Agni and the Soma, the rules, which are to be observed, have already been stated in connection with the animal sacrifice. These stand as the statutory conditions for all the animal sacrifices.

19. It (i.e. the Agni-Somīya animal sacrifice) ends with the performance of the Patnī-saṁyājas.<sup>16</sup>

## XVI

1. While the Vasatīvarī (water) is carried he (the Brahman) recites the stanza: "Adhvaryu, bring the full" (III. 12.8 with Ūha).

2. The placing of the same into the Āgnīdhriya (hut) is done with the recital of the following stanza (i.e. of III. 12.9) and of the stanza: "those which" (I. 4.2).

3. The consecrated passes the night here (i.e. in the Āgnīdhriya hut).

4. The sacrificial priests awake in the second part of the

<sup>16</sup> Caland reads *Patnīsaṁyājāntaḥ* instead of *Patnīsaṁyājāntāḥ* of Garbe.

night and they touch water by the side of the Sālādvārya fire (i.e. the old Gārhapatya fire).

5. With the sacrificial forms (i.e. the mentioned formulas) of which the first is "the sacrificial gift is (the Soma, when it is) brought" and the last is "the Agniṣṭoma belonging to the Vaiśvānara", he (the Brahman) offers the gift (of butter) into the Āgnīdhṛīya fire, before one proceeds with the actual Soma-ritual.

6. In a contest (i. e. when two rivals perform at the same time the Soma-sacrifice—each with the purpose of excelling the other and injuring him) before the beginning of the morning litany he makes a sacrifice of butter into the Āgnīdhṛīya fire with four formulas at a time besides the hymn: "The Yajus formulas in the sacrifice" (V. 26).

7. After he has marched into the south of it (i.e. the Āgnīdhṛīya fire) and behind the Āhavanīya fire he (the Brahman) takes his seat in his place (on the south of the Āhavanīya in order to attend the morning litany).<sup>17</sup>

8. When the Hotṛ has sat down (to perform the morning litany) he (the Brahman) offers a gift of butter to him with the stanza: "If out of negligence" (VI. 106) and then performs the preliminary sacrifice.<sup>18</sup>

9. To the morning litany he (the Brahman) addresses the four hymns: "Protect us, Oh Indra and Puṣan" (VI. 3-6).

10. To the Aponapṛīya the three hymns: "The mothers go" (I. 4-6).

11. When the king (i.e. Soma) is pressed he (the Brahman) offers the gifts of pressing with the hymn: "Indra, be pleased" (II. 5). He performs the sacrifice to the first ladle-full of Upāṁśu (with the utterance of aphorisms).

17 Caland points out that the word *enam* at the beginning, as preserved in the text of Garbe, appears due to a corrupt tradition. He presumes that there was probably the word *atha* at the beginning of the sūtra preceding the word *enam*.

18 Caland has omitted in his translation the portion "*hotāram*" of the text.

When the sun has gone up, he gives the offering of the Antaryāma (ladle) with the stanza: "The sun in the heaven" (XIII. 1.45).<sup>19</sup>

12. After he has passed by the two Havirdhāna (cars) and the Khara (which occurs before the south car) and has taken his seat (in the south of the Khara) he mixes the Soma with the utterance of the hymn of honey: "Of the heaven and the earth" (IX. 9).

13. While it (is pressed and) poured within the Droṇa-kalaśa he addresses to the Soma the stanza: "Oh priests! this Soma is meant for Indra" (VI. 2).

14. During the mid-day pressing the stanza: "Drink boldly" (VII. 76. 6).

15. When he receives such words from the Adhvaryu as: "Brahman, the Soma has overflowed," he (the Brahman), recites the (following) stanza after he has caught hold of the Droṇa-kalaśa (i.e. put the Soma in the Droṇa-kalaśa): "The god Savitṛ indeed deserves praise from us; he is invoked by men during the day. May he, who distributes jewels to the pupil, bestow upon us the best riches now."

16. Then he offers sacrificial gifts to the same with the seven stanzas: "The fire, which is within the waters" (III. 21. 1-7).

17. The Adhvaryu, the Pratiprasthāṛ, the Prastotṛ, the Pratihotṛ, the Brahman and the presser (of the Soma i.e. the sacrificer) go back to one another (i.e. catch hold of one another from the back) and then marching forward (from the Havirdhāna cottage) to the Baliṣpavamāna offer oblations to the Soma-drops with the aphorisms: "The drop sprang" (XVIII. 4. 28).

"The drop that trickles down from you, the filament that appears from the inside of the vat after having fallen from the arms and also that, which comes from the strainer of the Adhvaryu—with all these, sanctified by the word *vaṣaṭ*, I offer

19 Caland points out that the correct text should be *rājñy'abhi*° etc. Sāyana also maintains this reading.

oblations to you mentally. For munificence may the god Bṛhaspati sprinkle that drop, which is made to flow down below from the spoon (*śruc*). For (achieving) strength may the god Bṛhaspati sprinkle the drop, which is (known as) Dhānāsoma, Parivāpa and Karambha and which has slipped down from you on the (surface of the) earth", "what has trickled down from" (Kauś sūtra 6. 1).<sup>20</sup>

## XVII

1. They take their seat to the south of the Cātṛvāla.
2. Muttering the hymn: "Sing in the evening" (VI. 1) he (the Brahman) looks to the Udgātṛ.
3. After the preparation of the stotra the Prastotṛ asks the Brahman to grant him permission by the words: "Brahman, should I recite verses of eulogy, oh Praśāstṛ !"
4. Then he (the Brahman) grants him (the Prastotṛ) the permission and he mutters: "You are the bridle (splendour), you are meant for exercising control, may you promote power. May you, who are sprung from Savitṛ, recite hymns in praise of Bṛhaspati. Oh lord Savitṛ, I proclaim this to you,—may pursue it (enthusiastically) and offer sacrifices. Do not cease to sing the (Ṛc) hymns, which grant long life, nor the Sāman songs, which protect life. May the blessings, granted on you, come true; may the desires, you cherish, be fruitful. Speak the right and the true. Oh Bṛhaspati, with your consent (I proceed) om bhur, janad ! united with Indra (I stand)"—and then in the weakest tone he commands: "Praise", in a medium tone during

20 For the text of Garbe, which reads: *drapsaḥ pātito' tyasyavaśca yaḥ paraḥ śrucāḥ* Caland suggests *yaste drapsaḥ patito, stya avaśca*. He has merely suggested it and not adopted it in his translation. Keith considers the original text to be corrupt, so the correction of the same is uncalled-for. Keith observes: "We have here a case like those, indicated by Winternitz in the Mantrapāṭha—in which the traditional text has been hopelessly corrupted before the sūtra was produced. One can replace, if desired, what should be the proper text, but it is not reproducing the text of the sūtra" *JRAS.*, 1910, p. 938.

the pressing in the noon-time and in the strongest tone during the third pressing.<sup>21</sup>

6. In the Ukthya and other original forms of the Soma-sacrifice including the Ahīna (the performances take place) with the utterance of the sounds oīm, bhūr, bhuvaḥ svar, janad, vṛdhad, karad, ruhad, mahad, taccham, oīm.<sup>22</sup>

7. When two rivals perform the Soma-sacrifice at the same time he (the Brahman) mutters repeatedly over the Stomabhāgas: "Chant hymns for freshness, chant hymns for strength, chant hymns at the command of the god Savitr. I invoke you—Bṛhaspati, Prajāpati, the Vasus, the gods Rudras, the gods Ādityas, the gods Sādhyas, the gods Āptyas, the gods Viśvas, the gods Śarvas—nay all from all sides. May it (strength) belong to our people alone, may he impart strength to us here and then should look to the Brahman of the enemies (i.e. of the opposite party.)"<sup>23</sup>

8. When the chanting (in praise of gods) has come to an

21 Caland translates the word *raśmi* as bridle, rein as he states "zügel bist du" i.e. "You are the rein"; but it may mean also "splendour". But Caland's interpretation is supported by the mention of "the exercise of control", which comes immediately after it. Caland translates *Savitṛ-prasūtā* as "Auf Savitr's Geheiss" i.e. "at the command of Savitr". But we like to interpret it as "Sprung from the Savitr". Again Caland suggests the reading *māpagāyata* for *māpagayā* of the text of Garbe. But Keith disapproves this revision and is in favour of the text of Garbe, vide JRAS 1910, P. 938.

22 Caland has omitted in his translation the portion *ahīne ca* of the text of Garbe.

23 Caland translates the portion "*stomabhāgānāmuparyupari*" etc as: "flüstere er (der Brahman jedesmal) ausser den Stomabhāgas" i.e. "he (the Brahman) mutters on every occasion outside the Stomabhāgas." But the expression *uparyupari* bears the sense of 'repeatedly', 'continuously'; so we have translated the same as: "he (the Brahman) mutters repeatedly over the Stomabhāgas". Again, Caland has omitted in his translation the word *vah*, which occurs after the name of each god. Caland suggests that the expression *saurta-somayoh* should be emended as *samūrta-somayoh*.



end he (the Brahman) mutters the formulas: "You, who are rich in strength and sap, are the praise of the praised (i.e. of the god upon whom the praise has been showered). The praise, (which I have poured down upon the gods) will secure strength for me. May the praise of the praised (i.e. of the god) come to me. May we secure posterity and strength for us. May this desire of me come true among the gods. May it furnish me with the divine splendour.

9. The Brahman pronounces the stanza: Indra's belly (VIII. 111) over the Pūtabhṛt, after the Soma has been poured down within it (by the Unnetṛ).<sup>24</sup>

10. When the Bahiṣpavamāna hymn is chanted, he asks his sacrificer to recite the stanza: "You are a hawk" (VI. 48. 1), the stanza: "You are a bull" (l. c. 3) when the mid-day hymn is chanted, but the stanza: "You are Ṛbhu" (l. c. 2) when the Ārbhava hymn is chanted (during the pressing of the Soma in the afternoon.)

11. Those, who acknowledge the authority of the secondary Brāhmaṇa, apply here the formulas, which are given in the same (i.e. the Brāhmaṇa.)

12. Now the Adhvaryu says: "Āgnīdh, remove the fire, spread the straw, dress the Puroḍāśa."

## XVIII

1. From the Āgnīdhriya fire the Āgnīdhra transplants fire to the first two pressings (i.e. pressing places) with the help of the glowing fuels, to the third pressing place with the help of burning sticks. While he casts his face towards the west, he places the same (i. e. the fire) into the fire-places (Dhiṣṇyas) of Hotṛ, Maitrāvaruṇa, Brāhmaṇacchaṁsin, Potṛ, Neṣṭṛ and Acchāvāka and upon the Mārjāliya (Dhiṣṇya).

2. There (in the afore-mentioned Dhiṣṇyas) he pours down (fat or Soma).

<sup>24</sup> Pūtabhṛt is a kind of vessel upon which the Soma is kept, after the latter is strained.

3. Along the line back to the Mahāvedī he scatters straw (from the Gārhapatya to the Āhavanīya) and dresses the sacrificial cakes.

4. He (the Brahman) mutters to the fires (which are transplanted by the Āgnīdha) the formulas: "May the fires, which are brought to the Dhiṣṇyas, along the earth, protect us, may they help us. Reverence to them; may they not injure us (such in the morning pressing), but in the last two (i.e. of the mid-day and third) pressings the stanza: "May courage come back to me". The performance (which is to be done in this moment), has been treated and the same is indicated by the words: "Behind the Āhavanīya".

5. The priests, who are chosen, offer the four selection-gifts (i.e. oblations on the appointment of the priests) with the formulas: "May I be pleased with the Vāc, may I be excessively pleased with the Bṛhaspati; oh goddess Vāc, may you place me into that, which is the sweetest of the Vāc, Svāhā (1); Svāhā to the Vāc (2), Svāhā to the Vācaspati (3), Svāhā to the Sarasvatī (4)! The fourth gift should be dedicated mentally (i.e. without any utterance of the mantras.)"

6. Some say that the priests offer seven oblations (with the formulas): "Svāhā to the Sarasvatī (5), to the great, the all great (6), the stotra with the stanza (7)." (Kauś sūtra 5.7).

7. At the end of the offering of the fat of the Savanīya-paśu and of the washing of hands (following immediately) by those, who take part (in the sacrifice), they (the Brahman and the sacrificer) stand and worship the sun (with the stanza): "On the book of the heaven" (XIII. 2. 27).<sup>25</sup>

8. After they have come forward with the stanza: "May we not go away" (XIII. 1. 59) (they turn to) the Āhavanīya

25 As pointed out before, Caland does not translate '*upatiṣṭhate*' as 'worships' which is its proper meaning in the present context. He translates it in a round about way as we come to know it from the rendering of the lime which runs: "stehen sie auf und richten sich an die Sonne mit der Strophe". Trans. "they stand and turn themselves to the sun with the recital of the stanza."

fire, the Nirmathya fire, the sacrificial post and the sun with the formulas:

“Oh fires, you are Sagaras, with your violent splendour, which is known as Sagara, may you protect me; reverence to you, do not injure me”.<sup>26</sup>

9. North to the Āgnīdhriya they move towards the Sadas.

10. Those priests, who possess a Dhiṣṇya, and the sacrificer go into the Sadas through the front door, while the others through the back.

11. While on the point of entering into the Sadas they show respect to the Dhiṣṇyas by the words: “We bow down, bow down again to the Dhiṣṇyas”.<sup>27</sup>

12. While entering into (the Sadas) they show respect to the spectator with the words: “Reverence to the spectator,” but to the hearer with the words: “Reverence to the hearer.”<sup>28</sup>

13. (Standing before the Sadas and) casting a glance on each of them he pays respect to the Cātvāla, the Utkara, the Śāmitra, the Uvadhyaḡola, the Āstāva, the Āgnīdhriya (fire), the place remaining where the Acchāvāka delivers his speech, the Mārjāliya, the Khara, the Dhiṣṇyas and other places, during which he utters the words: “Oh fires, you are Sagaras” (etc. as in the sūtra 8).

14. With the formula: “May you go far into the atmosphere” they touch the Sadas; (they touch) the two door-posts

26 Caland construes the expressions *sagareṇa nāmnā* as absolutely separate from the terms *raudraṇāmkena*, while we have taken the former as standing in apposition to the latter. So Caland translates the relevant portion as: “You are Sagaras, Sagaras by name, with your Rudra appearance protect me.” It is certainly different what we have given above. As the term *anka* bears the sense of army, force etc., in our translation in the place of the word ‘splendour’ we can put also the word force or strength, which also gives a quite good meaning.

27 Caland suggests that *prasapsyanto*, which is the correct form, is to be put in the place of *prasrpsyanto* of the text of Garbe.

28 Caland suggests that *upadaṣṭre* should be put in the place of *daṣṭre* of the text of Garbe.

with the formula: "Oh divine door, do not afflict me, oh makers of space, make room for me".

15. After they have entered into the Sadas they show their respect to the revealer with the formula: "Reverence to the revealer." After they have gone to the north of the Dhiṣṇyas and each (of them) has stepped forward to his own, they pay regard to the spectator with the formula: "Reverence to the spectator."

16. After they have taken their respective seats, they mutter the hymn: "To you, oh Indra."<sup>29</sup>

17. The sacrificer and the Sadasya taking their seats in the south of the Brahman utter (the Vyāhṛti) *janat* mentally (silently) after the utterance of the formula to the accompaniment of stotras.<sup>30</sup>

18. So long as a *savana* (the morning, the mid-day or the third pressing) is not complete, those, who have got a Dhiṣṇya of their own, come out of the Sadas by the north of the respective Dhiṣṇyas through the front door (of the Sadas); but those who do not possess any Sadas of their own, come by the north of the Dhiṣṇya of the Maitrāvaruṇa.

(To be continued)

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29 Caland suggests that the sentence should end with *tvendreti* and the word *stotram* should go with the following sūtra. He has translated the line according to such modification.

30 Caland considers the word *yajamāna* of the text as an interpolation. Consequently he has omitted it in his translation. But Keith is against such an assumption and wants to retain the word in the text, vide JRAS, 1910, p. 937. Further, as he considers the word *stotram* of the preceding sūtra as a part of this sūtra he translates the latter as: "After a stotra the Sadasya, (sitting) in the south of the Brahman utters silently (the Vyāhṛti) *Janat* after the utterance of the formula that contains the stotra." The translation seems to be cumbrous.



